Saint Christopher in medieval Spanish literature

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The thesis explores the legend of Saint Christopher as presented in four fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, the oldest extant Castilian accounts. Chapter One outlines the legend's origins in fourth-century Eastern Mediterranean culture, and its trajectory as far as its appearance in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, commenting on the changes made to content and emphasis as the account evolved. The focus narrows in Chapter Two, where the transmission from Latin to Castilian is considered in detail, and comparisons drawn between the four vernacular accounts. Chapters Three and Four deal with thematic aspects of the legend as they appear in Spanish, including an exploration of the nature of Christopher in his dual portrayal as saint and monster, and the notions of fear, power and voice as they are depicted in the texts. The four medieval Spanish accounts are edited and presented here (three of them for the first time) in an appendix, complete with critical apparatus.

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Introduction

Hagiography is a largely ignored genre in academic spheres, lying uncomfortably between the disciplines of literary studies, theology, classics, and history. The unquestionable culmination of hagiographic work was Jacobus de Voragine's immensely popular *Legenda aurea*, a collection of saints' lives completed in around 1280, but later significantly added to by successive generations.[1] Despite running to 173 printed editions during the fifteenth century (even more than the Bible in that period, with a mere 128 editions), documents relating to publishing houses show there was a decline in the work's popularity in the sixteenth century.[2]

It is unsurprising that the lives of saints have not enjoyed the same scholastic attention as other genres dealing with the fabulous or miraculous, because hagiographic accounts, without compromising this aspect, claim also to narrate a historically accurate sequence of events. Since the explosion of study and thought that characterised the Renaissance, academic attention has mostly avoided the *Legenda aurea*, precisely because of its uncomfortable (for modern minds) marriage of the two senses of the word legend: factual document and fantastical story.[3] These texts represent a mixture of genres that appears

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[1] For Latin references, I have consulted the edition of the *Legenda aurea* by Graesse (1846). Graesse cites no particular manuscript, but Boureau (1984: 15-16) proved that his work bears enough resemblance to a manuscript from northern France, B.N., N.A.L, 1800, dated 1283, to bear a strong resemblance to Jacobus's original text. It is important to differentiate between early and later versions of the *Legenda aurea*, as it was considerably expanded soon after its composition; Boureau asserts that it doubled in size within a few years of Jacobus' death (27). It has not yet been established whether the corpus in Spanish grew correspondingly.

[2] Seybolt (1946) argues that despite the hyperbolic yet widely accepted view of the number of editions of the Bible produced in this period, the *Legenda aurea* was in fact a much more commonly printed book. See Reames (1985) for an analysis of the text's historical trajectory.

[3] The word *legend* gained its negative connotations precisely in relation to the *Legenda aurea*. Reames affirms: 'Formerly in wide use to designate texts to be read (in the original sense), and lives of the saints in particular, the old term was so discredited by the time Jacobus's book ceased publication that subsequent hagiographers went to some lengths to avoid it... By the middle of the seventeenth century *legenda* and its derivatives had gained a new currency as pejorative terms for stories unworthy of belief.' (1985: 61)

simultaneously to include mythology, narrative, instruction, and bank of knowledge destined for those teaching within the Church.[4]

In order to offer an academic study of some part of this vast body of material, I investigate the legend of Saint Christopher. The narrative challenges the limits of belief with the allegorical mood of the first half of the legend, and the miracles of the second. It follows a structural pattern used in many of the other legends in the *Legenda aurea*, charting the saint's quest to find Christ, and his subsequent martyrdom. The character of the saint and his interaction with others provides a fascinating insight to the aspirations and qualities admired in the medieval period.

In Chapter One, I examine the origins and background of the legend that had grown to be so fabulous by the thirteenth century. This informs Chapter Two, where I discuss the transmission of the text into Castilian in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Chapters Three and Four are sister chapters, furnishing a section of thematic investigation. Chapter Three delves into the nature of characterisation in the texts, especially that of Christopher himself. Chapter Four complements its precursor by moving from the focus of character to that of theme and image in the texts, especially the portrayal of fear, power, and the voice. Finally, an appendix presents the four edited texts with a series of critical norms.

This project required a leap into an area of little published knowledge and a small but very useful number of experts. My most grateful thanks must be extended to Dr Andrew M. Beresford, my supervisor at Durham, for his expertise, encouragement and refusal to let me get away with anything second-rate. Also to Dr Manolo Hijano at Durham, for obtaining me a manuscript at the eleventh hour, as well as his knowledge of obscure medieval Spanish words and phrases. Thanks also to Dr. David Woods, at the University College Cork, for his useful website and correspondence. Lastly to Dr. Stephen Dellar, who

[4] Reames (1985: 197-207) proposes that the *Legenda aurea* was used as sermon material for laymen and women, providing paradigms of sanctity that were to inspire veneration and, to a lesser degree, imitation. She argues that the reassertion of stricter, more monastic ideals from around 1270 is the reason for both of these characteristics. The *exempla* edify the believers, but also aim to prove the supernatural powers of the saints in the legendary, emphasising the marvellous to lend weight to the assertion that the central character was indeed a true saint. This emphasis in part helped the *Legenda aurea* gain a reputation for hyperbole.

read through some of the chapters with a red pen and underlined the bits he liked rather than the mistakes.

Durham University has wonderful, supportive staff, including the administration team (Denise Gustard and Heather Fenwick in particular). It is also very lucky to have such an invigorating and welcoming set of postgraduate students, whose stimulating idea-sharing has been invaluable this year.

The Legend of Christopher in Medieval Spain

According to medieval Spanish manuscript tradition, the tale of Saint Christopher is a combination of an allegorical legend and an account of martyrdom. In Christopher's quest to serve the greatest ruler, he becomes the companion of a Christian prince, and later the devil, but in finding the first master afraid of the name of the second, and the second frightened by the symbol of Christ, he seeks Christ. After an explanation of Christianity, he takes the advice of a hermit and helps people to cross a dangerous river. One night, he encounters a child who asks for a crossing. Christopher suffers immense difficulties but arrives safely on the other bank, whereupon the child reveals himself to be Christ and gives proof of this.

Later, he goes to Samón where he is divinely granted the language of the local people. He is taken by guards (whom he converts) to the pagan king, and is thrown into prison with two women who are sent to seduce him. He converts them, and they manage to destroy the idols in the temple. After various tortures, he is beheaded and his blood cures the blindness of the king, who later declares him a saint. In one manuscript, the martyrdom is described twice, with direct participation of God speaking from heaven.

Chapter One
The Origins of a Legend

Despite his established place in popular legend, evidence of the historical Saint Christopher is hard to trace. In this chapter I intend to outline some reasons for this phenomenon, and build up as complete a picture as possible of the origin of the legend, and its evolution until Jacobus de Voragine included it in the *Legenda aurea* in the late thirteenth century. This will allow me in Chapter Two to examine the legend's transmission into the vernacular, thereby completing an overview of the whole text's trajectory. The account changed enormously between its inception and its treatment in the Dominican's hand around nine hundred years later. I shall examine these changes and seek to establish reasons for them, attempting to throw some light upon the attractive qualities inherent in the life of Christopher, and hagiographic narrative in general.

The historical Saint Christopher is hard to trace for two fundamental reasons: there is no confirmed shrine to his relics; and the two separate traditions of his legend contradict one another on many points, despite both descending from the same lost Greek *Acts*. The Western, Latin tradition of Christopher's life diverges from the Eastern, largely Greek tradition at many important points. Voragine would have used Latin accounts rather than Greek ones, and so this analysis concentrates on these, referring to the Greek tradition only when useful for comparison.

According to the first known Latin version of his life (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* locates this as text 1764, referred to henceforth as *BHL* 1764[1]), Christopher's body, highly prized for reliquaries, was transported to a foreign land:[2]

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[1] Bollandist Society 1898-99: 266. *BHL* numbers 1764 as first in a list of ten identified accounts in Latin, later extended to twelve in the 1986 *Novum Supplementum*. Unfortunately, no dates are assigned to them. David Woods (1999: 1) agrees that this text is the earliest. *BHL* 1764 was edited in *Analecta Bollandiana* (1891: 393-405). Latin references are taken from this text, with paragraph and page numbers. For the ease of those unfamiliar with Latin, translations into English in footnotes are from Woods's online version (1999).

[2] 'Moreover, Athanasius, the bishop of Italy, a city which is on the border with Persia, heard of these events. He came to Antioch, paid three hundred aurei to the king's servants, and took away the corpse of the holy martyr to his own city.'

> Audivit autem episcopus civitatis At[h]anasius Italiae quae juncta est terminis Persidis. Hic venit in Antiochiam, et dedit trecentos aureos ministris regis, et tulit corpus sancti martyris et protulit in suam civitatem. (*BHL* 1764.28: 405)

The editor of the Latin adds a footnote to the effect that the word 'Italiae' here is most likely to be a corruption of 'Attalia', as the Greek tradition confirms, although Woods (1994: 175) suggests that 'Attalia' is a corruption of 'Alexandria'. The point remains that Christopher's body was removed from Antioch, the place of his martyrdom.

However, the same account also states:[3]

> Quidam autem vir, cum esset alienigena, regionis eorum qui homines manducabant, qui habebat terribilem visionem et quasi canino capite, in bello comprehensus est e comitibus temporibus illis et perductus est ad regem. Probavit autem illum in numero armarianorum. (*BHL* 1764.1: 395)

Woods views this as an important detail in the search for the saint's identity. This is because the Roman military unit 'Marmaritarum' ('armarianorum') was the only one to be named after the ethnic group from which most of its conscripts came: the Marmarica, originating from a region equivalent to modern Libya. Added to this is the assertion that this land contained cannibals; current-day Ethiopia and parts of North Africa were generally believed to accommodate people who devoted themselves to such practices.[4] This evidence seems to suggest that Christopher was a conscript from North Africa. Christopher came from the Marmarica and may have been returned there; he

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[3] 'There was a certain man who, since he was a foreigner from the land of man-eaters, had a terrible appearance, a dog's head as it were. He was captured in war by the counts at that time, and was led to the king. He posted him in the *numerus Marmaritarum*.' (The editor of the Latin offers *Marmaritarum* as a corrected version of *armarianorum*.)

[4] See John Block Friedman (1981: 102) for an outline of the arguments on the habits of inhabitants of Africa. According to legend, Ham, son of Noah took Africa as his home. His descendants were marked with the curse of Cain, and monstrous beings and cannibals were believed to populate Africa precisely because of their ancestry in Cain.

was martyred in Antioch; he is possibly buried in a city near the border with Persia. Therefore, there are three likely sites for a tomb or shrine to the saint, although, crucially for historical evidence, none has been found, making the figure of the saint yet more elusive.

The second reason that Christopher and his tomb are so hard to trace is because 'Christopher' is his baptised name, one that he did not hold for long before his death. It is more likely that he would be commemorated in official documents and amongst the Marmarica by another name. The name assigned to him before baptism in the Latin accounts is Reprebus, Reprobus, or Rebrebus, meaning 'wicked', 'miscreant', or 'condemned'. This name appears to be a convenient replacement for one that had been lost, reminding a Christian audience of his sinful nature before he became the bearer of Christ.

There is a case for identifying the lost historical Saint Christopher with Saint Menas, whose shrine is in a place called Abu Mina (ancient name now lost) not far from Alexandria. According to Woods (1999: 4), Christopher's martyrdom took place around 308, and the cult of Menas established itself in the fourth century, showing the chronological possibility of identifying one with the other. In addition to this, Menas was a soldier, he had been executed in foreign lands, and his body had been returned to his homeland. These are all details true of Christopher's life, if his body was returned to its place of origin. The church at Antioch does not preserve Menas's name, but it is unlikely that he was a member for long before he was martyred, if he was at all a member (see Woods 1994: 186 for further evidence linking the two).[5]

It is difficult to trace a man whose name is dubious, perhaps a mere literal illustration of his actions, and whose shrine and original *Acts* have been

[5] Only one medieval Spanish text deals with Menas, Escorial manuscript h-II-18, fols. 226^{ra-vc}. Interestingly, it is the opposite of Christopher's legend, in that it is detailed about the circumstances of the martyrdom of Menas, but the *passio* itself is formulaic, whereas Christopher's narrative is vague about location and time but clearer on the actions of the saint. Briefly, the account states that Menas was an Egyptian noble and soldier martyred in Luzia in the era of Diocletian and Maximian. On a pagan festival day he proclaims his new Christian faith in the street, and is later questioned and tortured, and sentenced to be beheaded and his body burnt. However, Christians secretly remove his body and move it to Constantinople, 'e es guardado en ella [Constantinopla] con mucha honrra' (226^{vc}). It is feasible to add this documental evidence to Woods's historical traces, and hypothesise that the story attributed to Christopher fills the gaps left by the more easily traceable Menas, and that a study of the combination of the two would not be a fruitless exercise.

lost. However, the two written traditions based on the latter are rich in detail, despite containing corruptions. Woods proposes Bishop Theophilus the Indian as a candidate for the possible author of the lost *Acts*. Theophilus was a missionary who lived in the first half of the fourth century, and stayed in Antioch long enough to have learned the Christian history of the city. Positing the missionary bias of the earliest accounts of Christopher as evidence, Woods suggests that the account could have been 'an effort to drum up the interest of the emperor, probably the Caesar Gallus, among others, in the sponsorship of a second missionary journey.' (1999:5). The argument is convincing, in view of the missionary overtones of *BHL* 1764.

The two independent traditions of Christopher's legend derived from the lost *Acts* have largely been separated by language. The Eastern tradition in Greek presents a less romantic version of events, one of the earliest of which is listed in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* as 310.[6] It offers the story of Christopher as conscript and his execution at Antioch. It is interesting, particularly because of its treatment of the cultural metaphor of cynocephali, dog-headed peoples, a description of Christopher common to the early accounts (a fuller discussion will be presented in Chapter Three). The Greek tradition, despite depicting it literally in iconography, was aware that this is merely a metaphor to express the exotic nature of those who inhabited the periphery of the Empire, and thus of Greco-Roman civilisation. However, the Latin tradition was less sure how to interpret this imagery, leading to misunderstandings, erroneous corrections of a perceived corruption, and complete omission. As a result, the Western tradition of Saint Christopher grew to become apocryphal and much more interpretative. By the time it reached Jacobus de Voragine, the account of martyrdom has become confined to the second half of a bipartite biography. Later texts devote the first half of the account to a legend in the sense of a fabulous story: the story of Christopher's dealings with the devil and the infant Christ. The ways in which the narrative changed over time and shifting social circumstances, and influence from other works, are important to consider.

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[6] Although *BHG* lists preliminary traditions named A, B, and C, I refer to the text listed as *BHG* 310, number Ib of five strands of text, later updated to six. Belonging to this first identified strand of legend, *BHG* 310 represents one of the first extant accounts of Christopher's narrative.

One of these other works, the Ethiopian *Gadla Hawâryât*, a conversion narrative published as *The Contendings of the Apostles*, is very similar to the account of Christopher (see Budge 1935: 173-79). In her article about Saint Christopher as monster in medieval English literature, Joyce Tally Lionarons (2002: 175) remarks that the description of Christopher in some manuscripts is almost identical to that of the dog-headed helper to the apostles, Abominable. The scene of this character's conversion to Christianity has striking similarities to that in early Latin texts such as *BHL* 1764, but the narratives diverge after a description of the new convert and his baptism (see Chapter Three for further discussion, and White 1991: 22-26 and 35-36).

The earliest Latin source available is the *passio BHL* 1764, describing Christopher's martyrdom. This text contains many historical details that were later omitted from the tradition, possibly because they were transcribed incorrectly until some phrases became obviously corrupt, and lost meaning. There is also the possibility that scribes decided that such details were not useful to contemporary Christian audiences, therefore stripping the account of incidental or contextual information. The intentionality of the omissions or alterations by anonymous clerks before Jacobus de Voragine is impossible to verify. *BHL* 1764 usefully demonstrates these changes from its very start. It cites Christopher's feast day as 10 July, a date that was later moved to 25 July by the Catholic Church, the first obvious alteration to be noted. Whether by error or intention, the saint's festival is celebrated two weeks late, and the reason for this will probably never be found, although it is much discussed.[7]

Another example of historical, contextual detail contained in early manuscripts can be found in the first paragraph of *BHL* 1764:[8]

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[7] For a theory of the reason for the change in date, see Woods (1999: 6), where he suspects a double error to be the cause of this alteration. White also reviews arguments linking Christopher's feast day with the dog-star, Sirius: 'Nearly all of the saints of the Christian church whose hagiographies associate them with dogs or Cynocephali are celebrated between May and August, months identified with the setting and rising of the dog-star Sirius. The greatest concentration of these fall during dog days, or canicular days, in the weeks following the heliacal rising of Sirius, which occurs on or around July 25' (1991: 26).

[8] 'At that time there was much madness, and a great multitude of idol worshippers. When therefore this madness was growing stronger in its opposition to the Christian faith, there was sent forth an edict from the emperors of that time that all who worshipped God should taste the unclean food of idolatry, and that those who objected should be delivered up and

> In temporibus illis erat multa insania et multitudo copiosa idola colentium. Cum haec igitur invalesceret adversus fidem christianorum, exiit edictum a principibus temporibus illis, ut omnes Deum colentes inmundarum escarum idolatriae degustarent, eos vero qui contradicerent tradi et diversis poenis affligi. Accipientes autem judices hunc edictum a sacrilego imperatore, devastabant ecclesiam Dei. (394)

The historical context is one of persecution, and an edict had been issued from the Roman Empire. Readers immediately grasp the dangerous climate of the ideological boundary lands on the edge of the Empire, where the young Christian Church met the older polytheism of Rome. Later versions preserve this conflict by presenting the persecution as a personal battle of wills between the saint and the emperor. The narrative later expands the latter into a monster of paganism bent on destroying Christopher, God's elect on earth, distilling the tale into a battle fought by representatives of good and evil. However, passages such as the one quoted above allow readers to see that the historical reality was a clash of cults or peoples rather than mere individuals.

BHL 1764 goes on to describe Reprebus's vision of Christ that causes him to accept baptism, with no mention of the incident of carrying the Christ-child across a river (for which Christopher is now perhaps best known). The soldiers tell the king, Decius, of Reprebus.[9] Meanwhile the saint performs a miracle in the form of his staff growing leaves, and converts many people. The soldiers come to Reprebus, who is weeping for his past sins, and converts them

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subjected to different penalties. When they received this edict from the sacrilegious emperor, the governors devastated the church of God.'

[9] Decius was Roman Emperor between 249 and 251, and his reign was characterised by the establishment of an absolute monarchy, and persecution of the Christian Church. Despite Healy's view that the emperor's campaign against Christianity was politically rather than fanatically motivated (1907: 1), Decius became a byword in hagiography for a persecuting pagan king, often blamed for deaths in which he could not possibly have been involved. If Woods' suggestion (1994: 175-77) that the year of Christopher's death took place around 308 is correct, Decius could not have been the saint's persecutor.

with a miracle of multiplied food. Both the soldiers and Reprebus receive baptism at this point, and the latter is re-named Christopher.[10]

The first meeting between Decius and Christopher is characterised by the latter's aggressive manner, calling the king 'corruptibilem' (*BHL* 1764.9: 398) and saying that he must account to God for the lives he has taken. Each defines his nationality and position on Christianity, and the interview ends with Christopher's torture and imprisonment with two prostitutes who are told to seduce him 'et inclinent eum ad nostros libitus'[11] (*BHL* 1764.11: 398). Whilst in jail he converts the women, Gallenice and Aquilina. Gallenice is tortured and martyred immediately, but Aquilina does not declare her new faith until she has destroyed the statues of gods in the temple. At this point she is also martyred.[12]

The account continues with Decius's anger at these events, and his second interview with Christopher. At this point the converted soldiers make

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[10] Christopher means 'Christ-bearer' in Greek. The etymology prefacing Jacobus de Voragine's account of the saint runs thus: 'Christophorus ante baptismum dicebatur Reprobus, sed postmodum Christophorus dictus est, quasi Christum ferens, eo scilicet, quod Christum quatuor modis portavit, scilicet in humeris per traductionem, in corpore per macerationem, in mente per devotionem, in ore per confessionem sive praedicationem' (Graesse 1846: 430). White (1991: 43-44) offers a rather different suggestion, utterly refuted by Woods (1994: 184), connecting Christopher with the Anubis of ancient Egyptian mythology: 'Anubis was also called the "Way-Opener" (Apherou, Oupherou)[...] Christopher's name has been glossed, since the time of his earliest Western hagiographies, as the bearer of Christ (Greek *Christo-phorus*). There exists, however, an alternative reading of his name: Christ-Apherou, "the way-opener of the Christ," a fusion of names and functions of the same order as Hermanubis!' White seems to ignore the content of the narrative, especially the hostility towards paganism, instead dwelling on the saint's more outlandish features. His disregards the fact that such hostility makes the incorporation of pagan notions into hagiography untenable.

[11] 'And convert him to our lusts.'

[12] According to *BHL* 1764, the executioners use millstones to pull the women's bodies apart. The soldiers who also convert to Christianity are beheaded, and those who believe Christopher's vision and convert are ripped apart by the king's bare hands and burned in a furnace. Christopher undergoes all of these torments (he is burned alive, crushed by a rock, and finally beheaded) but only expires at the third stage of his torture (once more a symbolic number). His martyrdom echoes the sufferings of those he converts, but the tortures are intensified, thus affirming that he has been divinely elected to sanctity. By the time the account reached the vernacular, the women (who incidentally now both participate in the damage done to the temple) between them were drawn, burned, and beheaded, and Christopher undergoes beating, burning, shooting, and finally beheading. The soldiers are decapitated, but the crowd is not mentioned.

their faith public, and are promptly beheaded. Now Christopher's own torture begins in earnest, as he is nailed to a bench and set on fire. The blaze kills a crowd of pagan bystanders and destroys thirty houses (a multiple of the symbolic number three), but Christopher escapes unharmed, having seen the victory of 'virum pulchrum' over 'alium nigrum et teterrimum aspectui'[13] in battle (*BHL* 1764.23: 402). His narration of this vision converts another 10,000 people, almost certainly an exaggerated figure. Decius hears of this and loses control, attacking them and cutting seven of them to pieces (yet another symbolic number). Then he orders a huge furnace to be made to burn the Christians, but an earthquake enables Bishop Athanasius to remove their relics.[14] Christopher is then crushed by a rock but escapes unharmed. These trials correspond only in part to the tortures numbered in the Spanish recensions (see the editions for details).

Finally Decius orders Christopher to be beheaded and his body burned. In his final prayer, another earthquake kills the crowd and Christopher is granted a vision of God who agrees that the relics of this man will remain powerful. He is eventually martyred by decapitation and his body is taken from Antioch.

Comparison between this narrative and *BHL* 1766, a later text in the same tradition, shows that the latter was pared down to just half the length of *BHL* 1764, and much of the contextual information was omitted.[15] This account reduces the human characteristics of all the protagonists to one motive each: destroying Christianity or glorifying it. It changes the location of the martyrdom from Antioch to Samos, the girl's name from Gallenice to Nicea and the Emperor's from Decius to Dagnus.[16] Whilst the first of these examples

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[13] 'A beautiful man' and 'another, dark and most terrible to behold'.

[14] Saint Athanasius lived between c. 296 and 373. He was bishop of Alexandria and is famous for his shaping of Christian doctrine, especially concerning the Incarnation. Woods (1999: 4) suggests that Athanasius of Alexandria was erroneously linked to the account of Christopher, and that Bishop Peter of Alexandria was a more likely candidate to have removed the saint's relics, as well being a possible baptizer of Christopher.

[15] *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* lists 1766 as the third set of recensions of the legend.

[16] Dagnus was not a Roman emperor, and it is possible that this name comes from a corruption of the co-emperor, Caius Valerius Daja Maximinus (Caesar of Syria and Egypt from 305 until his suicide in 313, a notable persecutor of Christians) or a conflation of Daja and Decius. (The theory for conflating Christopher and Menas [Note 5] is also useful here,

seems hard to explain, palaeographic errors could account for the second (Gallenice → Nice → Nicea), and very tentatively for the third (Decius → Dus → Dagnus), showing how much the legend was distorted either on purpose or by mistake.

Woods's theory states that the initial intention of the text's author was to justify missionary activity by stressing Christopher's validity as a saint despite his exotic homeland, or by emphasising the strength of paganism in certain parts of the Roman Empire. However, this *raison d'être* was no longer relevant shortly afterwards. Christopher's martyrdom took place at the very beginning of the fourth century. Scarcely a decade later, Constantine issued the Edict of Milan in 313, in which it was decided that the Roman Empire should tolerate Christianity. In 392 it was adopted as the Empire's sole religion. With this, the number of martyred Christians fell dramatically. In short, mission could still be a purpose for a text such as the legend of Saint Christopher, but it is unlikely to be so in the well-established Catholic Western tradition that is the medieval context.

Therefore I propose that, like the majority of other hagiographic works in Latin, the legend of Saint Christopher became a repository of information about the saint, to be used for study or preaching amongst audiences who had been Christian since their baptism at an early age.[17] Many of the details pointed towards mission are consequently irrelevant and unnecessary, and were omitted

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because the account of Menas names the emperors Maximinus and Diocletian.) The changes of name and location, unlike the structural and stylistic changes brought about by condensing and simplifying the account, are likely to have been caused by human error and corrupt manuscripts. Naturally, the larger, deliberate changes to the legend are more relevant to this analysis.

[17] Sherry L. Reames (1985: 49) argues that cults were instrumental in establishing a sense of community. She states: 'As they [historical studies] suggest, the purposes of the genre [hagiography] were partly promotional; a legend celebrated the greatness of a particular saint in order to encourage his veneration – in the process typically furthering the interests of those who sponsored his shrine. Like the festivals with which they were connected, however, the legends were expected simultaneously to benefit the larger community by providing comfort and inspiration, instruction, encouragements to virtue and the love of God – in a word, edification.' This system maintained a tension between private benefits and public good, but remained in place for over a millennium, being replaced by a critical attitude towards hagiography in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, the purpose of legends was still edification, as she states at 85-86. For further discussion of the purpose of hagiography in the context of cults of saints, see Beresford (1997: 108n4).

long before the text reached Jacobus de Voragine. For example, the material quoted above about the edict of persecution of Christians is absent from later accounts. This paragraph (also omitted from later texts) goes on to further underline a missionary purpose:[18]

> Ut cognoscamus ergo omnes christiani quia non solum christianos adjuvat Dominus noster, sed etiam et eis qui ex gentibus nuper convertuntur ad Dominum mercedis est retributor, et probatos constituit ad suam scientiam. (*BHL* 1764.1: 394-95)

This personal introduction to the text shows very clearly the author's call for fair treatment of new converts to Christianity. He goes on to dwell on Reprebus's inability to speak the language of Antioch, demonstrating his alien nature. However, after prayer he is granted knowledge of the language, the partner gift to that of knowledge of God. Reprebus now has both understanding of this grace, and the ability to express it. Accurate expression is a key quality for any missionary.

Christopher's appearance is another feature of his difference or otherness, and varies as the text develops. The author of *BHL* 1764 undoubtedly included the lengthy description of him in order to highlight the physical discrepancies between Reprebus and the general body of the Catholic Church so he could then discount them as fundamentally unimportant. Whatever one's appearance may be, a saint is not spiritually inferior because of his or her extraordinary looks. Here is the description that the soldiers give to Decius:[19]

> Caput ejus terribile ita ut canis est. Capilli capitis ejus nimium expansi, rutilantes sicut aurem. Oculi autem ejus sicut stella

[18] 'In order that all of us Christians might learn that Our Lord not only helps Christians, but also rewards those from nations who are only recently converted to the Lord, and judges them acceptable in their knowledge of Him, [I tell the following tale].'

[19] 'His head was terrifying, like that of a dog. His hair was very long, and gleamed like gold. His eyes were like the morning star, and his teeth like the tusks of a boar. Words are not sufficient to tell of his greatness.'

> matutina, et dentes ejus velut apri prominentes. Magnitudinem autem ejus sermo non sufficit enarrare. (*BHL* 1764.3: 395)

When summarising Pliny the Elder's treatment of the distinguishing features of a *cynocephalus*, or dog-headed man, John Block Friedman (1981: 15) mentions a dog's head and huge teeth as necessary characteristics. Many critics have commented on Christopher's portrayal as a *cynocephalus* (see Lionarons 2002, Millard 1987, Schwartz 1954 and White 1991). Christopher is clearly located outside the usual parameters of civilisation and humanity. Later Decius calls him, 'Pessimi nominis et deformis' (*BHL* 1764.19: 401). It is established by Christopher himself that he is different, and that this fact has its origin in his place of birth: 'Genus autem meum meus vultus indicat' (*BHL* 1764.9: 398).[20]

However, the confusion over Christopher's appearance is one that may be interpreted symbolically, due to his role as 'Christ-bearer'. He preserves the imprint of his encounter with God in his face, setting him apart from other men. The strangeness of his looks is due to his birth in a distant land, but the reference to Christ as morning star is a well-known image (Revelation 22:16). He personifies the terrible energy and power of the divine by his very difference from the state of the civilised human being.

Oddly, this colourful physical description is one of the passages omitted from some later versions. The author of *BHL* 1766, for example, concentrates on Christopher's canine characteristics: 'A man came from the island, by origin from the race of the dog-headed people [...] She saw the body of a man, but the head of a dog'.[21] There is no mention of Christopher's other unusual physical attributes. The question of the dog's head – 'canineus', meaning 'dog-like' – was later amended to read 'Cananeus', 'from the land of Canaan', adding another erroneous dimension of geography. As it was generally recognised that Christopher could not really have had a dog's head, the scribes interpreted 'canineus' as a corrupt text and tried to correct the mistake. By the thirteenth

[20] 'You most wickedly named and ugly man' and 'my face reveals my nationality'.

[21] Due to lack of availability of the *Acta Sanctorum* in which the text is located, I have been unable to reference this citation in Latin.

century, there is no description in the *Legenda aurea* of the saint as having a dog's head, although some vernacular recensions resurrect the passage.[22]

The other physical attribute of Christopher's that reached mythical proportions by Jacobus de Voragine's account was his size. As already noted, Christopher's greatness was indescribable, and the soldiers say that he is 'supereminens hominum multitudinem' (*BHL* 1764.3: 395).[23] There is a possibility that Christopher's height was exaggerated. Therefore his habit of frightening people with his looks is not diminished by the loss of his dog's head, because it is replaced by his being a giant. Mention of his size may be due to the simple fact that he was a soldier, and as such likely to have been a strong, tall man. Also, his origins in a different race of people may have meant he was taller than those in Antioch. However, the escalation of his height was at least partly responsible for the tale of the river-crossing in later texts, when Christopher is ordered to help people cross a river because he is stronger than they are and less likely to come into difficulties.

Christopher's ugliness, whether it be his ability to look imposing or merely due to the fact that he was a foreigner and looked different, is a key part of his description. The majority of hagiographic accounts in the *Legenda aurea* speak of the physical beauty of the saint in question reflecting the beauty of the soul within (such as in all cases of female virgin martyrs).[24] Christopher falls in

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[22] In a comparison between the *Legenda aurea* and Gregory's *Dialogues*, Reames (1985: 85-88) suggests that the latter work simplifies the narratives by discarding lessons and interpretation. She argues that: 'in some ways the narratives in the *Legenda* are vastly more elementary than the sources from which they descend' (85), concluding that the text is a 'sourcebook for clerics' (86). However, by omitting many of the explanations and interpretations present in the sources such as the *Dialogues*, Reames states: 'the most obvious effect of the omissions [...] is to make the saint's success seem easier and more wondrous [...] Jacobus's saint is less recognizably human' (88). The dimension this insight lends to Christopher's narrative is that the saint becomes less easy to relate to as the legend develops away from its sources. The sense of wonder and the fabulous is maintained, but not explained.

[23] 'One who towers over most men.'

[24] The *Legenda aurea* confirms the typology of the virgin martyr. Every female martyr who was named as a virgin is also described as beautiful. In addition to this, Winstead (1997: 12) characterises the late medieval virgin martyr as 'a heroine who is invariably young, beautiful, and endangered by sexual predators'. She later specifically comments on the *Legenda aurea*, stating that 'unlike the heroines of the traditional passiones, Jacobus's saints show few traces of weakness. His virgin martyrs never call themselves sinners, nor do they flinch before horrifying ordeals [...] Gone from Jacobus's legends are the many assurances that God

quite another category, one that has Decius class him as a demon before they even meet. Indeed, the expression of Christopher's face becomes something of an enigma because in later tradition it is not described in any more specific terms than as being 'terrible'. The reader is not told how Christopher is 'terrible', but when the accounts introduce the devil, Satan's face is described with the same word. This semantic link leads readers to conclude that both the devil and Christopher have something of the unearthly, of the divine, that shows through their skin.

Christopher's transformation into a superhuman figure and conduit of divine grace demands a closer appraisal of his characterisation. As could be expected, the later legend emphasises the fantastical, and the account of his martyrdom is shortened. The details that create a rounded, human character in *BHL* 1764 are removed in order to replace these passages with apocryphal scenes at the devil's court and in the river. For instance, when Christopher is newly converted by his vision, there is a scene in the church that lends him another dimension of personality:[25]

> Eo autem orante, quaedam mulier, consuetudinem habens, ingressa est ad colligendas rosas, et videns eum sedentem et plorantem, reversa est retro [...] Intrantes autem milites, dicunt ei: *Quis es, aut quare ploras?* Dicit eis: *Fortiter me oportet flere prae omnibus hominibus, quia ignorans Deum, non sum incusatus umquam, nunc autem cognoscens Deum, tyrannidem patior.* (*BHL* 1764.5: 396)

Here Christopher weeps and readers sympathise with his feeling of helplessness against heavy odds. However, it can also imply that his character has doubts about his new religion, adding a dangerous element of doctrinal fragility. His tears are not to be found in Jacobus de Voragine, or even in *BHL* 1766, making it likely that this was a very early omission.

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understands human frailty' (66). This is interesting in the light of the debate in Chapters Two and Three concerning the apparent virginity of the two prostitutes, Nicea and Aquilina.

[25] 'While he was praying, a certain woman, as was her habit, entered to gather roses, and seeing him sitting and weeping she reversed back out [...] The soldiers entered, and said to him, "Who are you and why are you crying?' He replied, 'I more than any other ought to weep bitterly because when I was ignorant of God I was never accused, but now that I know God I suffer a tyrant."'

Similarly, in early accounts he bargains with the soldiers with a shrewd eye to gain their attention and convert them. In *BHL* 1764 they are disturbed by his words but merely leave him to come now or not at all, because they are paid by the hour:[26]

> *Nunc autem si tibi non placet venire nobiscum, remane.* Et dicis eis: *Audite meam vocem, et manducabitis bona.* Milites autem prompto animo dixerunt: *Quid est quod vis?* (*BHL* 1764.6 : 397)

Christopher shows an understanding of the soldiers' mentality that emerges as a form of bribery, speaking to them on a level of their material concerns, replacing them with his spiritual ones. However, this dialogue is omitted from Voragine's text and *BHL* 1766, in which the soldiers are in awe of Christopher's shining face and power of prayer rather than his ability to feed them.

The saint is not the only one to lose a human side in the process of refining the narrative. Decius or Dagnus, the Emperor, is also stripped of depth of character. Although he is unequivocally the mouthpiece of evil, representative of paganism, and an enemy of the Church, the treatment of his character is slightly softer in the earliest accounts. For example, the mention of the context of persecution at the beginning of the legend makes readers understand the events of the text as politically motivated occurrences rather than a personal vendetta to kill Christopher, which is what it becomes in all later recensions.[27]

The emperor's first meeting with Christopher is one in which the saint brings him to book with abrupt words telling him to repent. Decius rather coolly asks Christopher's name and nationality, and says that the Christian faith will be of no use to him, before telling him to sacrifice to the pagan gods and

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[26] '"If you do not want to come with us now, stay." And he said to them, "Hear my words, and you will eat well." The soldiers focussed their attention and replied, "What is it that you want?"'

[27] In considering the conflict between Saint Vincent of Saragossa and Dacian, Alison Goddard Elliott (1987: 29) argues that: 'By removing specific geographic and personal references from the hymn, Prudentius has given it almost epic proportions. The conflict is not the confrontation of two individuals named Vincent and Dacian; it is a figuration of the cosmic conflict between good and evil, new and old.'

receive material rewards. Christopher deliberately antagonises him with words such as, 'Inde quod vis fac: ego enim non sacrificabo daemoniis surdis, sicut et tu ipse surdus es' (*BHL* 1764.9: 398).[28] Decius continues to try to make the Christians sacrifice, and an echo of his attempt to maintain political stability appears in Paragraphs 19 and 22:[29]

> Pessimi nominis et deformis, aliene a diis, oportuerat te magis solum perire et non ornamenta civitatis per magicas perdere artes [...] Miserabilis homo, quid tibi profuit tanta insania? (*BHL* 1764: 401)

He tries to bargain with the converted soldiers, who reject every advance. Eventually the king is driven to madness in his frenzy against the religion, attacking the Christians with his own hands:[30]

> Tunc rex in multo furore accensus [...] faciens capita septem concisit eos ex omni parte. Nec enim decollavit eos ut est consuetudinis; sed sicut lupus ingrediens in ovile absque pastore, sic eos concidit. (*BHL* 1764.25: 403)

The psychological changes from political awareness to outright tyranny that Decius undergoes throughout the text are entirely omitted by the thirteenth century. The emperor in Voragine's account is driven by a desire to eradicate Christianity, a personal vendetta against the religion and its participants. By removing Decius's own doubts, Voragine and his predecessors establish a

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[28] 'Do what you want, then: for I will not of[f]er sacrifice to the demons who are deaf, just as you yourself are also deaf.'

[29] 'You most wickedly named and ugly man, you who are separated from the gods, you ought rather only to have died, and not to have destroyed the ornaments of this city by your magic skills [...] Wretched man, how has such madness profited you?'

[30] 'Then the king, burning with great anger [...], counted seven individuals, and cut them entirely to pieces. For he did not behead them as was the custom, but he fell upon them like the wolf attacks a flock when the shepherd is away.' The image of the ravening wolf is commonly used to refer to the threatening forces menacing the people of Israel, and later the Christian Church, with God in the role of the Good Shepherd.

stronger dichotomy of good versus evil, Church versus Empire, the new spiritual wellbeing versus the antiquated and decadent sins of polytheism.

In short, Christopher's legend was changed from its initial state as a *passio* into the account presented by Voragine via paring down of characters, and removal of authorial intention and episodes that include an element of ambiguity. However, only half of the medieval text deals with the episode of martyrdom. The next task is to examine the additional material, and postulate reasons for why it was included. The principal answer to the latter question is that just as cynocephali, used as a symbol to describe foreigners from far-flung lands, was interpreted literally, so Christopher's name was interpreted to mean that Christopher once actually carried Christ. A narrative grew around the meaning of his name. By the thirteenth century, the legend contains an account in which Christopher meets the Christ-child and carries him across a river in an effort that nearly drowns him. The story is extended through a sustained exploration of Christopher's name, the bearer of Christ. Farmer also suggests that his name is a metaphor for his actions in support of the Church (1997: 100-01), reflecting the fact that he became a popular saint, attracting attention and worship.

The episode at the start of the medieval legend, where Reprebus looks for the best master, and finds the king to be afraid of the devil and the devil to be afraid of Christ, is most likely to be a loose representation of his real travels, culminating in his finding Christ in the baptismal waters of the river. Moreover, his philosophy of action rather than prayer echoes his historical profession of soldiery. It is probable that this part of the legend is merely an allegory for the thought processes leading to the conversion of Reprebus and his consequent militant Christianity. The legend has no basis in fact, nor corroboration by other documentation. The visions in *BHL* 1764 mention nothing of a child-like Christ, and later in the tradition there is no description of the battle between Christ and the devil (*BHL* 1764.23). Christopher's visions are completely altered.

A further question needs to be tackled: that of the version to which Voragine had access when he wrote his account to be included in the *Legenda aurea*. Alain Boureau (1984: 87) declares that Saint Christopher is from a single source, but warns that it may well have been from an independent text not held in a compilation:

> 71 chapitres sur 153 découlent sans doute d'une source unique. Ils adaptent soit les notices du *Martyrologe hiéronymien* ou du *Liber Pontificalis*, pour les chapitres les plus brefs, soit les rubriques du *Martyrologe d'Adon*, soit des Actes anciens, soit des *uitae* illustres, soit enfin des *Vitae Patrum*.

Christopher does not appear in the *Vitae Patrum*, the *Liber Pontificalis*, or in Jerome's *Martyrology*. Ado's *Martyrology* is available only in manuscript form, and the vague nature of 'des Actes anciens' and 'des *uitae* illustres' makes it impossible to verify Boureau's claim.[31] Even if there were more than one text with an episode of Saint Christopher, it would still be uncertain which it was that Voragine consulted, because there is no record detailing which texts would have been available to him. Due to the work still left to be completed in the field of Latin studies, it is impossible to state which text he used and therefore exactly what he chose to omit or add.

It is also vital to consider that Voragine may have heard the legend of Saint Christopher through the writings of one of his contemporaries. Maggioni states that the contemporary sources used for the first edition of the *Legenda aurea* were Jean de Mailly's *Abbreuiatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* and Bartholomew of Trent's *Liber epilogorum* (2001: 18).[32] He also affirms that the theological writings of Thomas of Aquinas and Vincent de Beauvais were important influences on Jacobus de Voragine, although neither includes the figure of Christopher in their texts. However, he goes on to say that for later editions, including posthumous ones, many other works were consulted, so this does not help to resolve the enigma of where Jacobus de Voragine heard or read the legend of Saint Christopher.

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[31] Boureau's scholarship does not go far enough in its examination of the *Legenda aurea* to be truly trustworthy as a work of academic reference. If Ado's *Martyrology* does not contain Christopher's legend, nor any other evidence for a lost text could be found, this would be a serious condemnation of a book that claims to fulfil an essential role for those studying Jacobus de Voragine.

[32] Both texts remain in manuscript form. Reames (1985: 244n76) also confirms the lack of availability of these texts hinders her scholarship, emphasising the amount of work still to complete.

Finally, it is imperative to consider the effect of folkloric, mythological, and iconographic traditions upon Jacobus de Voragine and his predecessors. There has been some speculation as to whether the roots of Christopher's portrayal lie in the similarities between the saint and Anubis, son of Osiris in ancient Egyptian mythology. Schwartz, in his article 'A propos de l'iconographie orientale de S. Christophe' (1954) accepts that there are some similarities between Christopher's military costume and animal's head and the traditional guise of Anubis in some Greek and Russian icons. However, he states:

> Rien, dans ce qui nous est parvenu de la légende, ne montre un lien quelconque avec l'Égypte; et même si le culte d'Anubis s'est répandu également hors des limites de ce pays, aucun site connu ne permet d'expliquer topographiquement le passage du dieu païen au saint chrétien. (94)

He regards the details pertaining to the alien or monstrous nature of the saint as having an emotive function, rather than an informative one. Furthermore, he argues that Christopher's Greek *Acts* borrow from traditional typologies rather than succeeding to them:

> Un jeune Libyen, à la physionomie caractéristique, a pu être martyrisé quelque part du côté de la Syrie sous Maximin Daïa; son origine ou sa laideur, décrite dans ses Actes et mal comprise par la suite, a facilité la création d'un type iconographique insolite: saint Christophe à tête de chien et vêtu en légionnaire; mais rien dans ce qui précède n'implique que saint Christophe ait succédé à Anubis. (97)

These outlandish, alien characteristics attract attention and make Christopher's figure more memorable. Woods (1994) agrees with Schwartz's line of argument by drawing attention to the fact that Christopher's *Acts* do contain seeds of

historical probability, rather than being a Christianised version of ancient Egyptian legend.[33]

Despite the echoes that seem to resonate between the depiction of Anubis and Christopher's legend, many of the features (such as the dog's head) are omitted from recensions of the Latin legend, existing mainly in Greek *Acts*. However, in the case of the exclusively Latin river scene, it is worth examining Greco-Roman mythology for its parallels in pre-Christian legend. Christopher's strength is a motif reminiscent of Atlas' and Heracles' tasks when they hold the sky upon their shoulders. The myth of Heracles' twelve labours states that the hero relieves Atlas of his burden of holding the heavens up whilst the titan enters the garden of the Hesperides, but Heracles is able to trick him into taking his celestial burden back. The torture of the weight this champion undergoes reminds the reader of Christopher's struggle when he carries Christ:[34]

> In magno periculo, puer, me posuisti et adeo ponderasti, quod, si totum mundum super me habuissen, vix majora pondera praesensissem. Ad quem puer respondit: ne mireris, Christophore, quia non solum super te totum mundum habuisti, sed etiam illum, qui creavit mundum, tuis humeris bajulasti. (Graesse 1846: 432)

A direct encounter with the weight of responsibility, of power, and of sin facilitates Christopher's symbolic baptism in the waters of the river. Although this passage is much more likely to reflect an extrapolation of etymology rather than a real event, it is curious that motifs of pre-Christian mythology seem to appear in the construction of a Christian legend.

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[33] A ground-breaking article by Zofia Ameisenowa (1949: 42), previous to the discovery of historical evidence of Christopher, helped form a tradition of reading mythology and legend into the saint's hagiography. Even as recently as 1987, Millard wrote that 'Christopher [...] never existed as a person and his legend is a hotchpotch of disparate elements culled from various sources' (238), demonstrating that the saint is still often linked to erroneously traditional and folkloric source despite having historical evidence for his existence.

[34] '"My boy, you put me in great danger, and you weighed so much that if I had had the whole world on my back I could not have felt it a heavier burden!" The child answered him: "Don't be surprised, Christopher! You were not only carrying the whole world, you had him who created the world on your shoulders!"' (Ryan 1993: 12)

In terms of iconography, Christopher played an important part in medieval art. According to White (1991:35), 'he is an apotropaic saint whom it suffices to gaze upon to be freed from the danger of *male mort*, death in a state of sin.' Because of this, Christopher's giant form was often depicted on gates, bridges, and churches. Unfortunately, due to the destruction of many of these in the iconoclastic movement, most of the earliest depictions of Christopher are Western manuscript illustrations rather than murals. Christopher's popularity declined after the Renaissance when it was discovered that there was little clear evidence for his historical existence.

Zofia Ameisenowa (1949: 42-45) outlines some of the features of Christian art relating to Christopher. Although the earliest Eastern depictions included the dog's head, much later the tradition of Christopher in his military costume, and that of the giant crossing the river grew to popularity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These three elements were often combined in iconography belonging to later periods, as a seventeenth-century Russian icon demonstrates (43). Given that this art belongs to a period contemporary with and post-dating the proliferation of hagiography that is the limit of this examination, I suggest that the iconographic and literary traditions of Christopher developed in tandem, both highlighting the interesting visual features of the saint.

The ambiguities in the legend of Saint Christopher gave rise to accounts of his life and martyrdom that are at least exaggerated and interpretative, if not fabulous and grotesque. The Latin, Western tradition of his legend interpreted literally many of the phrases intended as metaphors. This gave birth to a story of a man whose historical reality as a soldier and a foreigner comes across only in faint echoes as character traits. By gradually reducing the story to its bare bones, the account in the *Legenda aurea* loses most of its characterisation and the original author's intent, but gains a clear-cut binary opposition of light against darkness, good against evil, Roman paganism against Christian faith in one God. In order to explain the narrative better, those who copied and changed the text over the centuries added motives and episodes based on their interpretations of Christopher's name. Despite problems regarding the form in which the story was transmitted to Jacobus de Voragine, it is possible to trace the basic trajectory of the legend from the Greek original through a Latin, learned, Western tradition via folkloric and mythological motifs. In the next

chapter I propose to examine the legend as Jacobus de Voragine crystallised the text in the *Legenda aurea*, and how it was translated into Spanish. I have shown how much it was transformed from its beginnings as lost *Acts* up to the thirteenth century; now its transposition into the vernacular becomes the focus of the investigation.

Chapter Two
Christopher's Legend: Transmission from Latin to Spanish

Manuscripts and Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the extant manuscripts containing a medieval recension of Christopher's life in Spanish, and an approximation of their relationships to one another. There are four manuscripts that contain an account of the legend: they are El Escorial h-I-14 fols. 190^{rb}-193^{vd} and K-II-12 fols. 126^{vc}-128^{vc}, hereafter named *EH* and *EK* respectively. The next is Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 8, fols. 52^{vd}-55^{rb}, referred to here as *M*. The final manuscript is Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, 419, fols. 90^{vc}-93ra (*F*). Only *M* has been edited and published (Baños Vallejo & Uría Maqua 2000: 225-32).[1]

Charles Faulhaber's website, *Philobiblon*, provides some information as to the dates and characteristics of each these manuscripts. *EH* was copied in 1427, but there is no clue as to where. It consists of 322 folios of paper in a round gothic hand, including coloured initials and dividers (Zarco Cuevas 1926: I, 189-90). *EK* is less ornate, and less clearly dated. *Philobiblon* gives 1400-1500 as the copy date, and suggests (without providing evidence) Gonzalo de Ocaña as a possible translator.[2] It is also shorter, at only 201 folios (Zarco Cuevas 1926: II, 164-65). Faulhaber is similarly vague about *M* (73 folios), dating it only between 1300 and 1400. Like *EK*, the reader is referred to Gonzalo de Ocaña, but if these dates are correct, this is clearly erroneous, as *M* dates from before Ocaña's lifetime. However, in their edition of the manuscript, Baños Vallejo and Uría Maqua (2000: 19) date it from the late fourteenth century, or early

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[1] The Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid also provides a recension of Christopher's life, in manuscript 5548 (folios 233^{r}-38^{v}, with two folios marked 237). Billy Bussell Thompson and John K. Walsh (1986-86: 22n1) call it 'an important eighteenth-century copy of a version [...] closely related to Lázaro Galdiano 419'. However, the fact remains that this manuscript is not medieval, so will not be included in this project.

[2] Details of Gonzalo de Ocaña's career are sketchy. He was a translator and learned monk of the fifteenth century. His work, *La vida y passion de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, historias de las festividades de su santísima madre iglesia... de los santos apóstoles, mártires, confesores y vírgenes* was published in Zaragoza in 1516 (Bussell Thompson and Walsh 1977: XXIX). An article by Calveras in *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* (1944: 206-08) considers the possibility that he was the translator of the *Legenda aurea* into Spanish, but if *M* is from the fourteenth century, Ocaña's translation cannot have been the first one to appear in Spain. It does not, however, rule out a possible involvement in the production of one of the Escorial manuscripts..

fifteenth century, up to 1425, due to the hand and watermarks. The proximity in dates to the other manuscripts, whilst still predating the other three, seems to point to a more reasonable hypothesis. Manuscript *F* was copied between 1450 and 1475, and little else is known about it.[3] It, like *EH*, is a manuscript of a better quality than *EK* and *M*, with more marginal illustration and initials, as well as fewer abbreviations.

The wider context in which the manuscripts sit is one of fluidity, as Dagenais argued in his book *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture* (1994: xvi). This reminds the reader that there is no definitive version of the legend in any one manuscript; enhancement and impoverishment are equally likely to infiltrate the text over time. Some of the second category are clearly lapses of attention by scribes, such as repetition or omission of a word, leading to a margin of human error. This multiplies when a manuscript is copied repeatedly, and further when well meaning editors erroneously try to correct the obvious mistakes that have crept into texts. However, I also found changes that make grammatical and even thematic sense; such variants may mark deliberate changes to the source text, and demand closer appraisal.

Intentional alterations to a text are often used as a device to emphasise an aspect of the narrative. This may manifest itself as a focus on one part of the story, or as an augmentation of a tone or mood by adding imagery or dramatic syntax. As I demonstrated earlier, Saint Christopher's legend in its earliest Latin and Greek forms was an account of martyrdom, the purpose and tone of which became obsolete as historical and social conditions changed. The emphasis that before was on a series of facts and a tone of veracity shifted to focus on the popular, more fantastic elements of a mythical prehistory to the saint's martyrdom, blurring the boundaries between allegorising symbols and reported fact. Such a change, reflecting the needs of listeners a millennium apart, must have required a conscious decision to alter the text.

I do not propose to perform a close examination of all the texts of Saint Christopher available to me; my task as a hispanist is to look at the transmission of the legend into Castilian. This almost certainly took place in the form of translations from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, due to their

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[3] Connie L. Scarborough (1994) and Carlos Alberto Vega (1991: 83-85) have each edited legends from *F*. Despite the latter's citation of Romero Tobar's description of the manuscript (1978-80), neither gives a theory regarding dates.

similarity to the Latin text. I used Th. Graesse's edition of this text (1846) as a basis for comparison with the Spanish manuscripts, José Manuel Macías' (1982) to compare the modern Spanish with the recensions, and the footnotes translating the Latin into English are William Granger Ryan's (1993: 10-14). There is no other comprehensive Latin edition of the *Legenda aurea*, but given the wide diffusion of the text, it is unlikely that the copies used by Spanish scribes and translators were identical to those edited by Graesse.[4] In addition to this, Graesse is unclear about where he sourced his text, and no studies have assessed his accuracy as an editor. With all of these variables concerning the Latin text, a study comparing the four manuscripts is the most effective work this project can yield.

I choose a systematic approach for investigating the texts, studying each sentence and phrase for omissions from or additions to the text, in order to establish whether they are related, and if so, to what degree. Any interpolations, contractions, expansions, clarifications, or glosses that mark the conscious work of a translator or editor have been noted, and the more interesting and problematic of these are discussed in this chapter. Next I examine the versions for variations in vocabulary and syntax that show the mark of distinct revisers of the text, and for changes to the narrative. There is not space here to reproduce and discuss every difference between the texts, so I concentrate on the most important and salient points of variety. I shall use a paragraph reference system for the sake of straightforward comparison, corresponding to the editions in the appendix, and also page numbers in the case of Graesse's Latin, and line numbers for the Spanish texts.

Omissions

Firstly I shall consider the omissions made by the copyists or translators. The two most glaring lacunae are at the beginning and end of the four manuscripts. They omit the introductory and concluding didactic paragraphs of the Latin, choosing to start directly with material about the saint, and finishing, in *F*, *EK*, and *EH* with the king's conversion immediately after Christopher's death (although *M* adds a Latin appendix which presents another scene of the

[4] Robert Francis Seybolt (1946: 342) numbers 156 editions in the fifteenth century of this work in Latin and vernacular languages.

saint's martyrdom). Such a large and internally consistent omission must be the result of a conscious decision.

The first paragraph deals with Christopher's change in name, and an explanation of the less literal ways in which he carried Christ:

> quod Christum quatuor modis portavit, scilicet in humeris per traductionem, in corpore per macerationem, in mente per devotionem, in ore per confessionem sive praedicationem.[5] (Preliminary Paragraph, 430)

This introductory paragraph serves to remind the reader or audience that a story is to follow, but that it will also be an exposition of a theological principle – how to support the Church.

Similarly, the last paragraph of the Latin is a summary of the conclusions that the reader is to have extrapolated from the underlying theology in the narrative.[6] Voragine here validates the study of Christopher's life by repeating Ambrose's comments on the martyr, classified by Boureau (1984: 63) as a 'glose mémorable'. Ambrose's interpretation of the events expands on certain areas, such as 'quique Nicaeam et Aquilinam publico lupinari longo tempore sub meretricia sorde famulantes' (not in Spanish manuscripts, 434).[7] The omission of the entire gloss in the Spanish versions enables the translator to call the girls *virgen* (as happens in Paragraph 13), a term that cannot have been biologically true if the girls were prostitutes. This example shows that by

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[5] 'He bore Christ in four ways, namely, on his shoulders when he carried him across the river, in his body by mortification, in his mind by devotion, and in his mouth by confessing Christ and preaching him' (Ryan 1993: 10).

[6] Reames (1985: 40-41, 63-64) links theology and narrative when she describes Bernard Gui, inquisitor of Toulouse, who was commissioned to write a new legendary entitled *Speculum sanctorale*. It was sent to the pope in 1324 and 1329, but quickly fell out of use. Bernard wrote that he wanted to write the work so that he might learn more about the saints and therefore use their example and intercession, assuring his path to Christ in the next life. His argument was that the lives of saints enable the reader or listener to imitate the virtues of the protagonists whilst learning to depend on their aid, using them as a path to God. The focus on saints should really be, according to Bernard's philosophy, a focus on God, contemplating theology whilst reading history.

[7] 'Nicaea and Aquilina had been engaged in prostitution in a public brothel.' (14)

omitting the didactic introduction and the synopsis-like final commentary, the editor is left with a greater freedom, using language to recreate the women as virgins, rendering their life before conversion irrelevant. The fact that the Spanish text concentrates on the narrative, leaving comment to the reader's mental powers, is a further argument strengthening the case put forth by Reames that the *Legenda aurea* was a basis for sermon material.[8] The lack of an explanatory theological gloss is entirely consistent with the choice of translating the text into Castilian rather than re-copying it in Latin; it is accessible to a wider audience.

There are further omissions in the text that denote a wish to exclude academic bias, and to focus on the narrative. These include an omission of the phrase 'ut in quibusdam gestis suis legitur' from all four Spanish scripts (Paragraph 1).[9] Here it becomes obvious that the need for historical veracity – so key to *BHL* 1764 – is obsolete. Academic scrutiny may find the Latin original more able to prove its origin and purpose than the Spanish texts. However, the narrative flow in the Spanish is uninterrupted by the self-conscious feel the Latin account gives of being composed, allowing readers to rest their attention on the content of the text, rather than its structure.

The omissions from the Spanish recensions are not entirely explained as results of the text's shift in academic purpose, transforming learned, glossed accounts into raw narrative material for use in sermons. There are also places where the reworkings in Spanish have a different meaning from the Latin because of their gaps. These omissions have the effect of altering concepts, thereby shaping the narrative, to make them more than mere exercises in translation. For example, in Paragraph 2, all manuscripts convey that the first king must be afraid of the devil:[10]

Cui Christophorus: si dyabolum, ne tibi noceat, metuis,	E díxol *Christóval*: 'Sy as miedo del diablo, pues él es

[8] 'Jacobus had not of course designed his compilation for such purposes [instruction and inspiration] at all; envisioning an audience of well-trained preachers, he had supplied some rather dry discussions of theological issues and a host of anecdotes without interpretation, for use in sermons' (1985: 205).

[9] 'According to some accounts of his life.' (11)

[10] See Chapter Four for a wider discussion of the topics of fear, strength and power.

ergo ille major et potentior te esse convincitur, quem in tantum formidare probaris. (431)	mayor e más poderoso q*ue* tú mayorme*n*te, pues q*ue* tan*to* lo temes.' (*M/F*, ll. 17-19)

In the Latin, the focus is on the fact that the king is afraid of the devil's powers and possible deeds, emphasising the verb 'noceat'. However, the emphasis in the Spanish manuscripts is not on the harm the devil can do, but on the fear of the devil's person. The focus shifts from anxiety about actions or events to a deeper-seated fear of the devil's malicious and powerful character. A simple omission of a verb means that the reader is forced to link the possessor of power to its source, without a mediating explanation of events that would dilute the characterisation.

The emphasis on power emanating from a person is further intensified in *EH* in Paragraph 4, when Christopher says that Christ is more powerful than the devil. The Latin states: 'ergo ille Christus major et potentior te est', but the Spanish omits 'major' in order to emphasise power amongst his qualities. Greatness and power may often be found together, but they are not true synonyms. The omission seems to be a symptom of the writer's desire to concentrate on comparing the two kings, the devil, and Christ, in terms of a power dynamic in a reduced and repetitive semantic field (*poder*, *poderoso*). This use of polyptoton omits the confusion of another set of comparative markers, permitting Christopher to measure his master by power alone.

EH, despite seeming to enjoy a more adventurous sense of interpretation, makes some omissions that occasionally leave the text lacking in meaning. One example is that when Christopher carries the child across the river, a change in syntax loses the sense that the further he goes, the graver the situation becomes. In the other accounts, the action of moving forward is in some way the cause of the water rising and the child becoming heavier on his shoulders. However, in *EH*, the text changes this sentence: 'E q*ua*nto más crescía el agua, el niño más pesava' (Paragraph 6, ll. 74-75). The conditionality of the sentence has been completely changed, removing Christopher's agency. This may be an example of human error, but as it omits a fundamental part of the process of crossing the river – Christopher's desire to progress – it changes the emphasis of one of the key moments of the narrative.

A further omission from *EH* and also *F* is also vital to the message of faith supposedly propounded by the hagiographic narrative. At the end of the account, in the Latin, *M*, and *EK*, the king is cured of blindness, and believes in the Christian God and the power of Christopher. He expresses his conversion by issuing an edict of violence against any who blasphemes against them. *EH* and *F* omit the mention of the saint (Paragraph 15):

Tunc rex credidit dans praeceptum, ut, si quis Deum et sanctum Christophorum blasphemaret, continuo gladio feriretur. (434)	E estonces el rey mandó q*ue* si alguno blasfemase de Jhesu *Christo*, que luego le matasen. (*EH*, ll. 163-64)	Entonce el rey creyó e mandó que si alguno blasfemasse o dixiese mal de Jhesu *Christo*, que luego lo matassen. (*F*, ll. 193-95)

Merely implying, rather than stating, that Christopher is an agent of the divine power leaves ambiguous the fundamental doctrinal connections between miracles, sanctity, and awakening of faith. *M* and *EK* emphasise the saint's authority by ending the account of his life by declaring that it is blasphemy to speak against him, as an unequivocal proof of holiness maintained until the final word.

Names are the primary way in which characterisation is achieved. Although a translation may easily use pronouns where in the source text these were not clear enough, two aspects of omitted names are important to the texts about Christopher: epithets, and the ways in which characters use names to express a truth about the other.

Firstly, epithets are of great use in order to offer the reader an insight into the character, bypassing the need to resort to interrupting the narrative's flow with descriptive passages. Graesse reports Christopher's words when he meets the devil as: 'Vado quaerere dominum dyabolum' (Paragraph 3, 431).[11] The word 'dominum' is an epithet that suggests strength and prowess, the type of qualities that Christopher desires to serve. However, the Spanish texts omit the epithet, rendering the sentence thus: 'Vó buscar al diablo' (*EK* and *EH*; *M* and *F* read 'Vó a buscar al diablo'). The devil is stripped of his epithet of

[11] 'I'm looking for the lord devil!' (11)

strength and therefore becomes a weaker and less worthy master to the audience.

Another example from the opposite end of the spectrum is an inexplicable lack of an epithet for Christopher's saintly nature in Paragraph 15 (Latin, *F*, and *EH* quoted above). Already mentioned is the lack of Christopher from this passage in *EH*, but *EK* presents a diluted version of his holy nature:

> Estonce el rey atovo e mandó q*ue* sy alguꝛo blassfemase de Jhe̅su *Christo* e de *Christó*val, q*ue* luego moriese por ello. (*EK*, ll. 151-52)

The Latin and *M* both refer to Christopher here as a saint rather than as a mere individual. There seems to be no logical reason for omitting this epithet, as it closes the text by reminding the reader of the protagonist's name and his dominant characteristic – his holiness.

Finally, there is the question of omission when it comes to characters being called by name. In both cases the speaker is Christ and the addressee is Christopher. Curiously, a different omission of the name is made in both *EH* and *EK*. In the former, Christopher is woken by the voice saying '¡Pássame allá!' (Paragraph 6, l. 66), whereas in *M*, *F*, *EK*, and the Latin, the saint is called by name. In *EK*, when Christ explains the episode in the river, he does not repeat Christopher's name. I consider both of these omissions, erroneous or conscious, to be important. Christopher's experience in the river is one that draws clear parallels with baptism. It employs the motifs of water, danger of death, and life on the other bank. A vital part of baptism is the gift of a name. Christopher was formerly called Reprobus, but it is in this episode that Christ calls his servant by name; the first time any character has done so. *EH* appears to lack the focus of a deity calling to a servant personally by omitting the name, while *EK* does not take advantage of the chance to sustain the metaphor of baptism. I can see no benefit gained from their exclusion. *M* and *F* retain both instances of the name, reflecting the Latin most closely, and this solution appears to make the most sense.

Additions

Additions to a text are easier to explain than omissions. Mistakes, such as words written out twice, often over a column break, have been dealt with as

flaws, and emended and noted accordingly. However, the addition of material coherent with its context requires thought and intentionality, and here is an opportunity to view the conscious changes that have been made to the manuscript. Additions fall into six broad groups: religious epithets, connectors and other grammatical devices, expansions, exaggerations, conceptual additions, and interpolations.

First, religious epithets consist of the addition of the word 'sant' when talking of Christopher.[12] Excluding chapter titles, Christopher in the Latin text is only given the epithet of saintliness on one occasion, at the very end of the text, whereas in Spanish he is regularly named 'Sant Christóval'. *EH* names him 'sant' at nine points throughout the text, compared with the five instances of the word in *EK*, two in *M* (excluding the Latin appendix), and only once in *F*. As the analysis of omissions suggested, the author or copyist of *EH* is more inclined to deviate from the source text, and many of the more interpretative additions belong to this manuscript, whereas *M* and *F* follow the Latin more closely, and *EK* takes a middle ground.

Second, connectors and other devices are those insertions used in order to maintain the grammatical sense of the sentence, as well as its narrative flow. By far the majority of them are the word 'díxole' (*EH* and *F*) or 'díxol' (*EK* and *M*), emphasising the act of speech. There are also some additional phrases and words such as 'e por ende' (twelve in *EH*, ten in *EK*, eight in *F*, and six in *M*), 'ya' (one in *EH*, two in *EK*, *F*, and *M*) and 'estonce' (eight in *EH*, five in *F*, *EK* and *M*). Connectors are simply stylistic devices permitting the Castilian text a narrative flow that Latin text does not require, and add nothing further to this discussion.

Third, there are two types of expansion: those that clarify the text, and those elaborate. The additions that fall into the first type are self-explanatory, such as when the translator is forced to add subject or possessive pronouns, markers of causality or sequence (such as 'luego'), or prepositions to clarify the cases used in Latin. They may also refer to religious actions and events. For example, when Christopher prays to understand the language of Samos, the

[12] There is a second addition under this heading, but it is merely a case of expansion in translation. The Latin for 'Christ' is translated throughout in all manuscripts as '*Jhesu Christo*' rather than simply 'Christo'; this is a hagiographic convention in medieval Spanish, not a theological statement.

Spanish reads: 'rogó a Dios' (Paragraph 8, same in all manuscripts). In the Latin the prayer stands alone, its addressee implied but not stated. In Spanish it is unnecessary to add 'a Dios', but the repetitions of religious exegesis reinforce the dichotomy already drawn up between the saint and the pagan emperor. For example, the king wants Christopher to 'sac*r*ificar los mis dioses' (*EH*, Paragraph 10, ll. 122-23, similar in *M*, *F*, and *EK*), whereas the Latin only uses 'sacrificaveris' (433). The object of the sacrifice is made explicit in the vernacular, placing the argument between Christianity and paganism firmly in the foreground.

The second category of expansions consists of embellishment to a phrase by using two synonyms instead of one word. This category does not include intensifiers such as 'muy', but merely adds a variation as a repetition.[13] Most of these variants are too synonymous to add a new dimension to the image the text presents; they merely add subtle connotations. An example of this semi-redundant expansion is in Paragraph 2 of *EK* only, where the good king says:

> Quemcumque dyabolum nominari audio, hoc signo me munio timens, ne in me potestatem accipiat mihique noceat. (430-31)
>
> Cada ora q*ue* oyo nonbrar al diablo, me santiguo e fago esta señal por q*ue* no*n* me faga mal. (*EK*, ll. 14-16).

'Me santiguo' and 'fago esta señal' are nearly synonymous phrases. However, they have the advantage of emphasising the connection between the sanctity and the protection that the cross represents. This is a gentle reminder of Christopher's dual role as repository of holiness, and defender of the faith for others.

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[13] Stephen Reckert (1998) provides an overview of the use of repetition, coming to the conclusion that true repetition cannot exist, because variables such as time, context and personal reaction produce an infinite number of interpretations of a text. Writers have a certain amount of control over this process, although only as far as the word on the page, or stage directions. Although Reckert's subject matter is repetition of the same linguistic block (a word or a larger combination of words and phrases), his point remains that a repetition that has been altered (such as the synonyms here) adds new depth to a work rather than simply falling into monotony.

Another example of this sort of expansion, this time from *EH* alone, comes from the point in the text where Christopher speaks of the oppression of the river crossing. In Paragraph 7 he says:

> Atanto pesavas como si fuera todo el mundo q*ue* estudiera sobre mí, q*ue* no*n* sufriera mayor trabajo ni*n* mayor carga. (*EH*, ll. 79-80)

The last four words of this sentence translate the Latin 'pondera', meaning 'burden'. However, by expanding the translation to use two words, the copyist of *EH* suggests that the heaviness of the world is both a process of active toil, 'trabajo', and a static weight, 'carga'. This expansion allows the image to be enhanced effectively.

The fourth category of exaggerations is usually signposted by the words 'grant' or 'muy', and the majority of them come from *EH* and *M*. There are 18 instances of 'gr[r]an' or 'gr[r]ant' in each *EH* and *M*, and 17 in *F* (one of which in the latter two is in the interpolated section), compared with 12 in *EK*. There are also 23 instances of 'muy' or 'mui' in *M* (six of which are in the interpolated section), 18 (six interpolated) in *F*, 13 in *EH*, and 12 in *EK*. Some examples are useful to see how exaggerations are used. For instance, all four copyists add 'muy' or 'mucho' to 'áspero' when talking about the desert in Paragraph 4 (no intensifier present in the Latin). In Paragraph 5, all add an emphatic 'muy bien' to Christopher affirming his capabilities by the river, and in Paragraph 6, all record that Christ begs Christopher 'muy afincadamente' to help him cross the river. Later, all accounts state that the girls are 'muy fermosas' in Paragraph 11. It appears that only the greatest hardship (the temptation of the girls, the harshness of the wilderness) and the strongest of affirmations (Christ's plea, Christopher's acceptance of his task) are worthy of an addition to the Latin, exaggerating and enhancing the concepts and moods.

Exaggerations are also employed to make speech more colourful. These include use of 'todo' (all), 'en punto' (*EH*) and 'mano a mano' (*M*) to suggest the immediacy of the miracle in Samos (Paragraph 8), and the emotive 'aun sobre esto' (*EH*, Paragraph 14) when referring to Christopher's suffering. The copyist of *EH* underlines the comic scene of the king falling from his throne by inserting a 'muy' before 'espantado'. However, *EH* also contains stylistic additions to speech, such as:

Dígote q*ue* un om*n*e q*ue* dixieron Jh*es*u *Christo* fue puesto en la cruz. (Paragraph 4, ll. 38-39)	Este servicio te digo yo q*ue* puedo muy bien fazer. (Paragraph 5, ll. 60-61)

Both 'dígote' and 'te digo' are additions to the Latin, appearing only in *EH*. The repeated emphasis on speech and affirmation draws attention to the fact that the truth is being told, and add a sense of drama and earnestness to the text. They render the account more dynamic and urgent, and are exaggerations that add interest without detracting from the content in the way a fuller addition or explanation might.

Conceptual additions are those that do not merely add clarity or emphasis, but go some way towards enhancing the concepts or meaning of the original. They resemble free translations, in that they are often interpretations or glosses to statements left suggested but not explicit in the Latin. There are many of these, mostly embellishments to the story (such as *EH* making it explicit that the relationship between the king and Christopher was close: 'andava con él', Paragraph 1, 190^{vc}). Also, they may be interesting turns of phrase that make the account livelier or more intimate (such as the hermit's more personalised attitude to Christopher's duty: 'éste es el servicio q*ue* él q*uie*re de ti', *EH*, Paragraph 5, l. 8). Three of these are of particular interest: a stylistic device to add atmosphere, and two examples of theological glosses.

First, Paragraph 6 of *EH* states:

Evolutis multis diebus cum in domuncula sua quiesceret, audivit vocem cujusdam pueri. (432)	Estudo allí grant t*ier*po faziendo aq*ue*lla obra. E una noche, él yaziendo en su casa, oyó una boz de un niño chico q*ue* llamava. (ll. 64-66)

In the Latin text, it is clear that Christopher is resting in his shelter, but it does not say that it is night. It is perfectly possible that Christopher is resting during the day, but the copyist of *EH* has interpreted the scene as one of darkness and night. The position of the insertion, at the beginning of the section referring to

the river crossing, sets the scene without being an intrusive piece of detail. As the reader continues, the image of night is juxtaposed with the dramatic action and the mood of fear. Without being a complete fiction without basis in the original, the translator or editor added a judicious shade of excitement to the text that is only implied in the Latin. This addition successfully enhances the account.

The first religious gloss comes from the devil's words in *EH* and *M*, when he explains the link between his own fear and the cross. The copyist of *EH* expands the Latin:

> *Qua*ndo la veo, he grant miedo dél e espántome e fuyo, ca por q*ua*nto él fue crucificado en la cruz, por ende perdí yo el poder q*ue* avía. (Paragraph 4, ll. 40-41)

The text from 'ca por quanto' is an addition to the Latin. It is explanatory in nature and theologically sound, but also important to the discussion of power dynamics in Chapter Four, because it is an explicit example of the power balance between Christ and the devil. As Christopher's story is in some ways a narrative of the search for the ultimate power, this is a fundamental expression of one of the relationships that express the saint's goal, and it is found only in the vernacular version of the legend. *M* and *F* present the opposition in a slightly different way, using additions to convey essential difference rather than the direct power struggle:

> Un om*n*e ovo q*ue* dixero*n* *Christo*, e fue puesto en una *cruz* tal como aq*uél*la q*ue* viste estar en el camino, e murió en *e*lla. E agora allá dó es, es n*uest*ro enemigo, e q*ua*ndo veo aq*ue*lla señal, he muy grra*n*d miedo e espa*n*tado fuyo. (*MF*, ll. 41-44)

Whereas *EH* addresses the devil's fear of losing his power and the strength of Christ, *M* is concerned with showing the opposition of the two forces and the hatred or rivalry that characterises their relationship.

The last addition is perhaps the most interesting. Paragraph 13 reads:

E muriendo así, esta *v*irgen	E moriendo asý, esta virgen
fuése p*a*ra p*a*raýso.	fuése p*a*ra Dios.
(*EH*, l. 145)	(*EK*, l. 134)
E murie*n*do asý esta *v*irge*n*,	E murió así esta *v*irgen, e
e yéndose p*a*ra Dios.	fuése p*a*ra p*a*raýso.
(*M*, l. 173)	(*F*, l. 173)

This addition avoids an explicit paradox only because the final paragraph of the Latin (in which Ambrose characterises the girls as prostitutes) has been omitted from the vernacular. The reader knows that Nicea and Aquilina are beautiful, and have been promised riches 'si eum ad peccandum secum allicerent' (Paragraph 10, 433). However, the suggestion that they are prostitutes is not openly admitted. The term 'virgen' jars with their former readiness to seduce Christopher, but the text narrowly avoids irrefutably contradicting itself. By describing the girls as chaste, the copyist or translator might have intended to align them with a typology of female saints, such as Agatha and Lucy, because of their beauty, virginity, and brave deeds in the face of martyrdom. The scribe may also have intended to echo the conversion of penitent prostitute saints such as Thaïs and Mary of Egypt, thus characterising Aquilina and Nicea according to two separate paradigms of female sanctity. I return to this theme in later chapters.

The final category of additions is perhaps the most important, and concerns *M* and *F*. There are three interpolated paragraphs, 8a–c (ll. 105-127), describing the meeting between a messenger in Samón, and the king, in which the former tells his master about Christopher's outlandish appearance and behaviour. There is also a lengthy appendix to the account in Latin in *M*. Between them, the two additional passages extend the length of the legend from approximately 1,850 words (*EK*) and 2,050 words (*EH*), to 2,400 (*F*) and 2,850 (*M*) — a significant expansion.

I shall not deal with the Latin appendix to *M* other than to say that it is a complete and self-contained additional account of Christopher's martyrdom, left in Latin for no apparent reason (for instance, the language is not complicated). It is an expanded repetition of Christopher's execution scene, wherein he is granted a vision of God, who promises eternal life and power to the saint's relics. The passage seems to have been lifted from the end of

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina 1764 (see Chapter One) without alteration. [14] As this analysis deals exclusively with versions in Spanish, a comparison between the two lies beyond the remit of this study. One hopes, however, that Latinists will work on this interpolation at a later date.

However, the interpolation of Paragraphs 8a, 8b, and 8c does fall in the remit of project, and are internally consistent with material earlier in *F* and *M*.

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[14] 'When the sentence had been received they left the palace. Saint Christopher began to sing psalms, praying thus, "You have saved us from those afflicting us, and you have thrown into confusion those who hated us." And he turned to the soldiers, and said, "Wait a little for me that I may pray." And he spoke, "O Lord my God, pay the king back in accordance with the way in which he has treated me." Upon saying these things he went off to the place which had been prepared. And again he said to the soldiers, "Wait for me a little while that I may pray a second time." And stretching out his hands to the sky he prayed, "God, heed my humility, and deign to reveal to me the way of perfection, that I might rejoice in your glory, Lord." And behold, there was a great earthquake, with the result that the crowd present were killed. Behold, the heavens opened, and Saint Christopher saw the Lord coming to him, and a great chorus of the just, and four angels in a sky of seven-fold splendour. A throne was placed, the Lord sat down, and many were astonished to see the glory which had appeared. Thus blessed Christopher when he saw this glory humbled himself at the feet of the Lord, and said, "How, in word or thought, will I praise you, Lord, that you have deigned to reveal your glory to me your humble servant?" The Lord said to him, "You are more blessed than many, and will be called my most beloved servant, and blessed will those souls be who have merited possession of your relics. I shall heed no longer the sins of those who have approached me through your intercession. I swear by my glory to you that they shall attain paradise." Saint Christopher replied, "If I have found favour in your sight, Lord my God, grant me the confidence to speak to you." The Lord responded, "Say what you will." The saint replied, saying, "Lord, grant my corpse this second favour, that all who possess a part of my relics will merit such grace that no evil spirit nor bodily sickness will cower them, and drive from them every evil desire. Lord my God, whether it be a city, larger area, or small locality where lies some of my relics, let not hail-shower, crop-disease or vine-sterility prevail there; but wherever my relics travel, if those regions have been harmed, grant them the grace of my presence as it were, Lord my God, so that all the inhabitants of those regions may richly receive the produce of their cultivation, and filled with your grace wholeheartedly glorify your holy name. Act thus, Lord my God." And the Lord replied, "It will be as you request. I will not cause you sadness. And so you have come, ascend to your brothers. For they all wonder at you, and my army of angels desires to see you." And when he had said this, he departed, and went to the place which had been prepared and said to the executioner, "Come, son, do what has been commanded. But I adjure you, by the God who watches over earth's orb, not to judge me." And upon saying these things, he crossed himself, and bending his knees he stretched out his neck; and in this manner his head was cut off. He perfected his martyrdom on a Sunday, at the 7th hour. Moreover, Athanasius, the bishop of Italy, a city which is on the border with Persia, heard of these events. He came to Antioch, paid three hundred aurei to the king's servants, and took away the corpse of the holy martyr to his own city.' Translated by Woods (1999: Paragraphs 27-28). See De Smedt (1891) for the Latin.

The first sentence of each manuscript is: 'Sa*n*t *Christó*val era de t*ie*rra de Canaá*n*, e era de aq*ue*llas gentes q*ue* come*n* los om*n*es' (ll. 1-2). Physical descriptions in the Escorial manuscripts limit themselves to Christopher's great size and frightening appearance, but *M* and *F* make explicit the reasons behind the terror he inspires. The material will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but for the purposes of the analysis of sources, it is necessary to highlight here that these passages also appear to be from *BHL* 1764 (De Smedt 1891: 393-94). *F* and *M* follow the basic outline of the passage in this Latin text, adhering much less rigidly to it than it does to Graesse's Latin, but the main concepts are clear in both texts: Christopher's monstrous appearance and behaviour.[15] An interesting difference is that *F* and *M* underline the conflict of faiths more markedly than *BHL* 1764. However, Voragine did not write this account, and it is impossible to tell what variant of it the scribe or translator possessed, so it is not fruitful to speculate more closely on the relationship between the two texts.

Specifically dealing with *M*, it is clear that the dramatic horror of the monstrous (the interpolation at Paragraph 8) makes a highly attractive story, and the passage about Christopher's relics (the Latin interpolation) would be of supreme importance to any religious establishment that laid claim to them. I see no clear reason as to why one passage has been translated and integrated into the text, and another left as an appendix. *EH* and *EK* show no sign of an omission between Paragraphs 8 and 9; they explain the king's interest in the saint by his conversion of eight thousand citizens, rather than a personal curiosity so see his face, or the messenger's concern. The Castilian additions to *F* and *M* are most likely to have come via a copyist's access to extra or expanded Latin texts, not from unexplained addition existing only in Spanish recensions, or omission from the Escorial manuscripts.

Alterations

The differences between source text and translation range from grammatical changes required for clarity's sake (such as the use of pronouns or nominalisation), to changes of name and concepts, and syntactical variations that affect the meaning of the whole passage. I shall not examine the former, as

[15] *BHL* 1764 is an older text than Voragine's Latin that Graesse provides, so it had probably evolved more. The fact that *M* and *F* diverge more from *BHL* 1764 than Voragine is no evidence of the scribes' internal inconsistency.

they are simply devices to make the sentence clear. Instead, I concentrate on those alterations that have an effect on the meaning of the passage, starting with examples of slight idiomatic change and leading up to the major differences.

First of all, I propose to examine some instances of grammatical changes that have an effect on the narrative. The first of the examples visible in all manuscripts is the translation of the Latin at Paragraph 10:

Cui rex: inter feras nutritus es et tu non potes nisi opera feralia et hominibus incognita loqui. (433)	E por ende no*n* puedes fablar syno*n* cosas de bestias e lo q*ue* los omes no*n* saben. (*EK*, ll. 110-11)

F, *M*, and *EH* provide identical renderings in Spanish. The Latin maintains both images of action ('opera') and speech ('loqui'), but the Spanish accounts change the notion of action to a reinforced one of speech's capabilities. This is not an omission, but rather a replacement of the imagery of action with an emphasis on the bestiality and alien nature of Christopher's words. Additionally, the similarity of these manuscripts in this sentence is further evidence to support the theory that the four are in some way related.

Grammatically, perhaps the most interesting feature of all texts is the debate between the translations of *Diis* from Latin. *EK* always transcribes the plural of the word 'god' as 'los dios', which has been emended to 'los dioses' and noted. However, *EH* contains three instances of 'los dioses' and three of 'los dios', and *M* contains five of the first and one of the second, and *F* has seven of the first and none of the second. Variations even within a single manuscript are common, but this case alludes to the contemporary debate as to whether a plural for 'god' should exist.[1] Although *EK* follows the ecclesiastical benchmark of using a plural article but stopping short of pluralising the noun itself, or denoting an abbreviation paleographically, *EH* and *M* employ both

[16] Gómez Redondo 1996: 403-06. In the thirteenth-century anonymous text, 'El Dio alto que los çielos sostiene', there are four instances of the word 'Dio', and none of the form 'Dios'. The editor explains as follows: 'La preferencia de Dio, en vez de Dios, testimonia el ámbito religioso de las juderías, reacias a la aceptación de una forma léxica que consideraban plural y, por tanto, sospechosa de culto politeísta.'

solutions. This suggests a variety of possibilities. These manuscripts could represent a tradition that is more developed and later than that of *EK*, because the linguistic argument of pluralisation had developed itself enough to produce a sense of ambiguity as to the correct way of conveying 'the gods'. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, the scribe was not consistent when regularising. In the case of *F*, it is likely that either the copyist regularised successfully, or it is a more modern text, written when the debate had subsided.

Lexis is a more fruitful way approaching the texts. Vocabulary has been adapted by each of the scribes to a large extent, and looking at its employment provides a method of examining the differences between the texts, as shared and unshared lexis gives the investigator an insight into the nature of the relationship between the texts. Firstly, there are examples of synonyms that have been adapted from Latin. Some of them change the nuance of the sentence little enough to be of small value when considering the texts in the light of lexical richness or poverty. However, the coincidence of these variations in two or more manuscripts may be crucial.

The texts often use synonyms deriving from another linguistic root to the word employed by the Latin. They do not change the sense of the phrase, nor do they add or remove connotations that the Latin words give, such as the use of the word 'díxo![e]' to translate 'respondit' (for example, in all manuscripts, Paragraphs 2, 7, and 9). As this variation from the Latin makes little thematic difference to the account as a whole, the positions and frequency of the changes are more worthy of attention than the conceptual changes they suppose; their occurrence is the vital point. There are over twenty cases of this class of synonyms that occur in all four manuscripts. This overlapping of material strongly suggests that *EH*, *EK*, *M*, and *F* came from a similar tradition; it is highly unlikely that these alterations were made independently to arrive at the same conclusions. Other changes support this theory. For example, at Paragraph 9 all four manuscripts invert the Latin: 'nec solutus nec ligatus' to 'nin ligado nin suelto'. There is no explanation as to why the adjectives have been inverted further than personal taste. The telling point is that the words remain changed in all manuscripts, possibly indicating a common ancestry, even though there are enough differences to prove that they are not direct copies of one another.

There are also differences between the texts in the form of idiomatic alterations. These are Spanish variations of the Latin text that are near-synonyms, but change the connotations of the words used. Unlike the synonyms, these changes are interesting in themselves because they help create an autonomous Castilian text that has grown away from the Latin with its own particular interpretations. The most striking semantic group that contains changes is the field of descriptors of people and their occupations. These help to anchor the characters to their surroundings. For example, the word 'servus' in Latin (Paragraph 2, 431, meaning 'servant', or 'one who serves') becomes 'vasallo' in *EH*, *F*, and *M*. The end of the sentence, being a paraphrase of what has gone before, is omitted in *EK*. In the Escorial manuscripts and *F* the same change occurs in Paragraph 10, and becomes 'cavalleros' in *M*.

Unlike the more usual translations of 'servus', such as 'criado' or 'serviente', the word 'vasallo' suggests not the relationship between an all-powerful lord and a servant, but feudal relationships that were the basis of medieval European society. A 'vasallo' could be a lower noble making a promise of fidelity to an overlord in return for protection, or can describe the overlord's relationship with a king, duke, or count, thereby functioning at several societal levels. A *criado* is necessarily lower in the social scale, as their work is always one of service, rather than one of protection. In using this word to describe Christopher's desired relationship with a noble master, the copyist infers not only a relationship of service and protection but also of companionship and mutual benefit. This is further emphasised by the translation of 'servum' at Paragraph 3 as 'omenaje' or 'omenage', reinforcing the semantic field of vassallage and loyalty (see Harney 1993: 69-72).

Another example of this category of alteration is the translation of the word 'militum' (Paragraph 3), 'milites' (Paragraph 9), and 'militibus' (Paragraph 14). All manuscripts translate this with the word 'cavalleros' (except the last example, which in *M* and *F* is given as 'ballesteros'). Although a correct translation, the word (derived from the word meaning 'horse') gives the impression of mounted soldiers rather than the lower classes of infantry. In Spanish, the word 'cavallero' had passed to mean 'knight', a nobleman with his own land and horse, so the connotations extend to wealth and social standing rather than merely military prowess. The Spanish texts use a more specific word with more precise social connotations.

Many of the remaining idiomatic changes refer to translations that are technically incorrect but do not substantially change the meaning of the passage, such as strengthening the image of the girls tying their sashes to the idols at Paragraph 12. Whereas *EK* translates the verb 'posuerunt' as 'ponieron', *F*, *EH*, and *M* imply the violence of the action by using the verb 'atar'. *EH* uses the same verb to describe Christopher's bound state when he is led to the emperor in Paragraph 10 ('ligasen' in *EK*, *F*, and *M*). Though still correctly conveying the sense intended by the Latin, *EH* emboldens the image and semantically links it to another episode in the text.

The last group of idiomatic changes upon which I shall concentrate is that of vocabulary referring to religion and devotion. The changes to the Latin here are also intensifiers. For example, all manuscripts employ the verb 'martiriavan' to translate 'torquebantur' in Paragraph 8. Ryan offers 'tortured and executed' as a translation. The Spanish uses one verb to imply that the Christians were being martyred for their faith, underlining the Christian viewpoint of this suffering. Similarly, in Paragraph 11 both manuscripts translate 'in orationem se dedit' as 'echóse en oración'. This is a strengthened image of Christopher metaphorically throwing himself into prayer, with the literal sense echoed as he falls to his knees, as 'echar' is a more physical, even violent, verb than the more general 'dar'.

Broader conceptual changes demonstrate the points at which free translation has altered the text so extensively that it conveys a different sense to the Latin, such as altering changes to names and places. None of the manuscripts contradict the Latin by mistranslating passages. This type of alteration marks a shift in emphasis or intensification. Unlike the less dramatic changes, usually occurring in more than one text, the manuscripts move away from each other somewhat.

Firstly, *EH* contains a fascinating nuance that feeds the thematic discussion of fear in Chapter Four. Paragraph 2 states:

Hoc signo me munio timens. (430–31)	Me santiguo e fago esta señal (*EK*, l. 15)
	Luego fago esta señal (*EH*, l. 17)

Fago esta señal (*M* and *F*, l. 17)

The Latin text makes explicit the connection between the symbol and its power, whereas Spanish seems to reduce the protection of the sign of the cross to a superstitious ritual. In diminishing this phrase, the scribe of *EH* allows an expansion:

Ne in me potestatem accipiat mihique noceat. (431)	Temiéndome q*ue* me no*n* faga mal, e por q*ue* el diablo no*n* me enpezca. (*EH*, ll. 17-18)

By numbering two ways in which the devil can do harm, the king emphasises evil's power to hurt and ensnare, with respective implications of physical and spiritual damage.

Similarly, when Christopher decides to leave the devil, *EH* extends the description of the ruptured relationship with his master:

> E por ende deniego tu vasallage e tu señorío, e pártome de ti e q*uié*ro yr buscar a Jhesu *Christo*. (Paragraph 4, *EH*, ll. 45-46)

The manuscript highlights the feudal bond between the saint and the devil with the words 'vasallage' and 'señorío' – specific vocabulary to distinguish their relationship as a social one. Although missing in the Latin, this change makes sense because the previous use of words from this semantic field repeated here sustains and enhances the image of a social contract.

The emphasis by the translators or copyists of *EH*, *F*, and *M* on the physical, social world, a world of saints accessible to all human beings, encompasses some of the changes that occur on translation from the Latin. For example, at Paragraph 5 both manuscripts state that Christopher wants to see Christ ('quién le mostrase a Jhesu Christo'), rather than merely hearing news of him, as the Latin affirms ('qui sibi Christi notitiam indicaret', 431). All manuscripts enter the physical realm in Paragraph 5 by changing the focus of God's will in the Latin to Christopher's usefulness:

Aliud a me requirat obsequium, quia istam rem nequaquam agere valeo. (431)	En otra cosa le puedo yo mejor servir q*ue* en ayunar, q*ue* no*n* lo puedo yo fazer. (*EH*, ll. 51-52)

In translation, the subject is transposed from God to Christopher, concentrating on the human level rather than the divine, allowing the reader to engage with the protagonist.

The theological question of the extent to which free will is relevant to the account of Christopher's faith, as introduced by the shift in emphasis from God's will to his physical abilities, is further deepened by the women's response to the saint in prayer in Paragraph 11:

Miserere nostri, sancte Dei, ut in Deum, quem praedicas, credere valeamus. (433)	¡S*ancto* de Dios, ave piadat de nos por q*ue* podamos creer en aq*ue*l dios q*ue* tú predicas! (*EK*, ll. 122-23, *M*, *F*, and *EH* very similar)

The Latin suggests that the women have a strong desire to believe in God, whereas the Spanish recensions emphasise the willpower and possibility involved in belief, implying that they are unable to construct faith without help. Alterations such as these reveal a tendency to ground the more theologically relevant Latin account into a fully physical world of capabilities and human limits.

An actual diversion from the meaning of the Latin text appears in Paragraph 14, where the iron chair miraculously collapses and frees Christopher. The Latin account available to Graesse employs the word 'cerae', meaning 'of wax', whereas the Spanish inexplicably translates this as 'madero flaco' in all manuscripts. Although the sense remains that the metal chair crumbles away, the imagery of the melting bench is quite different to that of the warping wood. I mentioned earlier that it is highly likely that the text to which Graesse had access was not identical to the one or ones used by Spanish copyists and translator. However, as the divergence is consistent between the four

recensions, it is useful evidence to support the hypothesis that the Spanish manuscripts are related.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, an examination of these manuscripts demands a consideration of the differences in name of both proper nouns. As Chapter One briefly explained, accounts of Christopher's life were confused and contaminated as factual details became less important than the messages and instruction the saint's life offered. In addition to this shift in purpose, geographical and historical records of the locations and protagonists were not easily available in the Middle Ages. The lack of knowledge about them may have contributed to the inaccuracies and variations in the texts.

Firstly, the manuscripts do not agree on Christopher's land of origin. The Latin states in the first paragraph that Christopher was 'gente Cananaeus', from the people dwelling in the land of Canaan. This is translated as 'Canahám' (*EH*), 'Cantahán' and 'Canturia' (*EK*), and 'Canaán, e era de aq*ue*llas gentes q*ue* come*n* los om*nes*' (*F/M*). Chapter One shows that Christopher was not a Canaanite, but was likely to have come from North Africa. Similarly, neither the city of Samon (Samón) or Samos, nor the land of Lycia (Paragraph 8), are mentioned in *BHL* 1764, although Samos is given as the name of the town in Woods' translation of *BHL* 1766 (1999). It is the task of the Latinists to work out the linguistic trajectory of the place where Christopher was martyred, because the Spanish is close to Voragine's Latin, offering no further clues. All manuscripts transcribe Samon as 'Samō'. The abbreviation is most likely to be Samo*n* or Samos; I chose the former for its proximity to Graesse's Latin, despite Woods' choice of the alternative. However, the fidelity of translation of the town is somewhat confounded by the methodology of translating the region, 'Lycia' in Graesse. The translators of the manuscripts propose various solutions to this name, transcribing it as 'Lezcia' (*EH*), 'Luzia' (*EK*), 'Lucia' (*F*), and 'Licia' (*M*). Here *M* bears the closest resemblance to Graesse's Latin, perhaps suggesting their closer (but impossible to prove) links, but the three variant vowel sounds ('e', 'u', and 'i') show that the name of the region has been corrupted.

In the field of names, no manuscript questions the name of the saint, 'Christophoros', or its Spanish version, 'Christóval', written as 'Xpoval', and as 'Xp°val', especially in *M* and *EK*. However, Christopher's name before he became the bearer of Christ, is less clear. The name he takes after conversion is

used to identify him all the way through the account, even before he becomes a Christian, projecting a religious past on a character who is clearly not the bearer of Christ when serving the devil. However, there seems to be a misunderstanding of the Latin on the part of the Spanish copyists and translators. According to Voragine, Christopher's name before his experience at the river was 'Reprobus' (Paragraph 10, 433), translated by Ryan as 'outcast' and rendered in *M* as 'Réprobo'.[17] Etymologically, one can see the link with words such as 'reprobar'. Christopher is thus characterised by his name: at the beginning he is a miscreant; he later becomes the shoulders on which Christ is borne, both across the river and symbolically because in his martyrdom he strengthens the Church.

Nonetheless, the Escorial manuscripts show an interesting variation on this theme. In Paragraph 10, the only instance where Christopher's former name is mentioned, *EH* translates 'Reprobus' as 'Rénebro'. This suggests a link between Christopher's behaviour and the modern verb 'renegar', referring to those Christians who had turned from their beliefs, thus conveying rebellion against God. Even more interesting is *EK*'s translation of 'Reprobus' as 'Rebichón', incorporating into the name the word 'bicho', meaning 'crawling insect'. The translator also uses the -ón suffix to convey the monstrous scale of Christopher's ugliness and undesirability. In other words, Christopher was the lowest of human life before he began to serve Christ. I believe this translation, quite a departure from the Latin, is an example of an attempt to correct a recognised corruption in the original text, because the writer of *EK* does not typically vary much from the source text. There is no way of proving this because it is impossible to examine the ancestors of any manuscript. The important point to be gleaned from these examples is that in their treatment of names, both manuscripts succeed in showing that Christopher is a rebellious, worthless, harmful person before the episode at the river, and an obedient, useful, good individual after it.

[17] I am not fully convinced that *M* reads Reprobo, as the third letter has both a downward and upward stem, suggesting Rebrobo. *F* reads Rebrepo, implying that their similar manuscript tradition may have maintained the second possibility, but I think my initial reading of Reprobo is more accurate.

Christopher's is not the only name to characterise.[18] The other character mentioned by name in the text is the king, Christopher's persecutor. In the Latin text he is named as Dagnus, possibly a corruption of the likely Roman emperor at the time, Caius Valeria Daja Maximinus (see Chapter One). It is unlikely that Christopher was personally put to death by an emperor, especially as his martyrdom took place somewhere on the fringes of the Empire. However, the Spanish manuscripts translate this name as 'Decio' (*EH* and *F*), 'Daciano' (*F*) 'Dapño', and 'Daguno' (both *M*, the former used only in the interpolated Spanish section between 8a-c), and even 'Dragón' (*EK*). Each one offers a different emphasis.

Decius was Roman Emperor (ca. 249) but the dates of his reign are incompatible with Christopher's martyrdom. However, this name and its proximity to verbs such as 'decimate', literally 'to kill one in every ten', is fitting for the bloodthirsty tyrant implied:

> Con derecho te dizen Decio, ca tú eres muerte del mundo. (*EH*, Paragraph 10, ll. 118-19)

The name suggests indiscriminate culling, so it is appropriate that the king should be the death of the world. Furthermore, Decius presided over an empire characterised by intolerance towards Christians (see Chapter One, footnote 16), and his name was used in hagiography to represent the persecuting absolute monarch.[19]

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[18] The other names apart from the saint and the king or emperor are Nafe, the messenger in *F* and *M*, and Aquilina and Nicea, the girls. However, as their names are not subject to alterations, no discussion is necessary at this point.

[19] 'Hagiography is not history. Many of the tales, as we have seen, were intended to be exemplary in nature, but even if Jerome and the others were not intending to write history, the charges of sameness are nevertheless valid. In many cases, however, to ascribe the "borrowings" merely to plagiarism is too simple and explanation. Many tales sound alike precisely because they are, in a profound sense, the same story' (Elliott 1987: 7). She goes on to argue that hagiography used repetitious motifs and structures in order to construct 'a common narrative grammar, a fact that in itself favors accretion, for audience and author alike shared a common horizon of expectation concerning narrative deep structure of saintly behavior. Hagiography, moreover, is not a genre that favors surprise endings or narrative suspense. Furthermore, like the orally composing epic poet who built his story out of established and familiar themes, the hagiographer could (and did) construct a seemingly infinite number of biographies out of a few essential elements' (8). By this logic, the name of

M provides two translations for 'Dagnus', which are 'Dapño' in the paragraphs additional to the Escorial manuscripts, and 'Daguno' in Paragraph 10, strengthening the possibility that the two sections are from different archetypes, and combined upon *M*'s composition. These names do not resemble possible Roman names (as 'Daciano' does) so much as the modern Spanish 'daño', meaning hurt, pain, or damage. The emperor here is essentially a force for destruction and damage of Christians, possessing no redeeming feature and consumed by his identity as the wielder of power to harm. *EK* names the king 'Dragón', perhaps the most evocative of the five solutions, and even less easy to link to an historical figure. Such wide departures from the Latin seem to suggest another attempt by the copyist of this manuscript to correct a corruption by replacing it with a wonderfully colourful image.

The last changes in names refer to Christian addressees, namely the ways of speaking of God. All manuscripts refer to 'Jhesu *Christo*' rather than 'El Señor' or 'Dios', which would be the more accurate translation of the Latin. This appears to be a cultural issue. As the account is made accessible to more people by passing into the vernacular, the concepts become more physically accessible and easier to imagine. Therefore the figure of Jesus is invoked rather than one of a less human, more general God. By using 'Jhesu Christo', the scribes fulfil the human need to remain in a tangible, imaginable world.

Conclusion

The changes wrought by the scribes upon translation of Voragine's Latin into Castilian subtly changed the imagery and emphasis to heighten the sense of drama and immediacy, of physical realism. Although the texts in their entirety do not translate the Latin incorrectly, they do re-evaluate it to make it suitable for a vernacular culture and reinterpret it to lend it more relevance to the audience culture. Language borrowed from semantic fields such as feudal society would have permitted the reader or audience a degree of pertinence. Omissions such as Ambrose's final commentary and the introductory theology placed the narrative of Christopher's life on the level of story telling, as well as substantiating the evidence that the *Legenda aurea* was used as a type of encyclopaedia of saints' lives to be used as sermon material. Any additions are

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Decius is a motif for the persecuting tyrant rather than an individual with a basis in a limited historical framework.

in place to add colour and excitement to the narrative rather than to distort it. While remaining faithful to Voragine's vision and research, the Spanish texts show more than a trace of Spanish society claiming the legend in order to pass it into everyday life.

I must also attempt to draw a conclusion as to the relationship between the four manuscripts and their Latin precursors. Over half of the deviations from the Latin occur in all four manuscripts. This statistic strongly recommends itself as evidence that *EH*, *EK*, *M*, and *F* are linked in some way; all of these changes could not be mere coincidence. However, the approaches of the scribes are different. *EK* is more faithful to the Latin, even if it does contain more errors than *EH*. The latter employs a more adventurous approach to translation or reworking. I would postulate that although the two manuscripts share a common ancestor (suggested by their coverage of the same thematic material), they then diverge to take different courses. *M* and *F* are somewhat different to the two Escorial manuscripts, although clearly in the same tradition (despite the lack of the Latin appendix at the end of *F*). They share many stylistic and linguistic features, enabling the creation of a critical edition of the two.[20] Like *EK*, they adhere closely to what appears to be an amalgamated Latin text. It is impossible to state whether the different archetype texts were combined at the point of composition, or earlier, or a combination of the two. Due to the fact that the interpolation at Paragraphs 8a-c has been translated into Spanish, it is likely that this addition had occurred in a previous generation of the text, affecting both *F* and *M*. Conversely, the appendix in Latin is likely to have occurred on *M*'s manufacture, because it has been simply tagged onto the end, rather than incorporated into the narrative.

However, all four texts share many characteristics, implying some form of a common archetype, α, where a translator's decisions, such as the omission of the introductory and closing paragraphs, had already been taken. *EK* and the *M/F* tradition may be closer to the Latin, but not always in the same ways. *EH* and *EK* actually have more in common in terms of sentence structure, lexical overlap, and thematic material, but because of their dissimilar approaches and the omissions in *EK*, I do not believe that they are direct descendants of one another. Nor do I believe *M* or *F* is an altered copy of or archetype for one of the Escorial manuscripts. There seem to be three traditions of the Christopher

[20] See Scarborough (1994: 175) for a similar theory of the relationship linking *M* and *F*.

legend in Spain, but without any firm evidence of dates or locations, or an archetype, any theory of relationship between EH, EK, M, and F will remain difficult to prove.

Chapter Three
Saint and Monster: Extremes of Humanity

Similarities with The Contendings of the Apostles

The first part of the story of Christopher, the allegorical legend of the life, is a later prefix to the *passio*.[1] To explore the synthesis and meaning of this legend, it is necessary to consider *Gadla Hawâryât*, an Ethiopian tale known in English as *The Contendings of the Apostles* (Budge 1935: 173-79). A character named Abominable is a dog-headed cannibal whose conversion leads to his renaming as 'Christian'. He then helps the apostles convert a city. Joyce Tally Lionarons (2002) has demonstrated the parallels that exist between Christopher and Christian. Both have names that suggest the existence of a condemned outcast, which are later substituted for names that reflect their identity as Christians; Reprobus for Christopher and Abominable (or Hasûm) for Christian. Both are described in similar terms, including mention of cannibalism and their nature as cynocephali. Both are involved in active service of Christ. Both receive confirmation of their faith directly from God. Both receive the gift of language. Lionarons (2002: 178-82) argues that these examples of transformation from monster to Christian are well-placed binary oppositions to show the importance of distinguishing between categories, to extricate the moral right from an illusion of wrong, and the saint from the monster in the text.

Names

Names are important to the texts as a measure of determining identity. The allegorical opening section of the narrative dealing with the prince, the troubadour, the devil, and the hermit gives no specific names. The characters are given signifiers pertaining to their occupation rather than their personality, emphasising the parable-like nature of the first half of the narrative; these are universals rather than particulars. When Christopher reaches Samón, more names are given: the messenger Nafe (only in *M*), the women Nicea and Aquilina (the former reflecting perhaps the foundations of belief in the Nicene Creed, the latter taken from the Latin for 'eagle'), and most importantly, the king.[2]

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[1] See The Legend of Christopher in Medieval Spain, p. 6, for a synopsis of the legend in Spanish.

[2] Although Nicea's name bears a clear resemblance to the Nicene Creed, the tenets of Christian faith, Aquilina's name is less easy to decipher. Dictionaries of etymology state

Each of the manuscripts has a different version for the king's name: *M* has 'Dapño' and 'Daguno', *EH* has 'Decio', as does *F* (which also employs 'Daciano'), and *EK* has 'Dragón'. The first suggests the modern Spanish 'daño', and the second implies decimation and destruction. 'Daciano' sounds most like 'Daia', the most likely Roman under whom Christopher was martyred. 'Dragón' speaks for itself. All of them imply that the king is fond of death, evil, and devastation.[3] Christopher points out the suitability of this name: 'Con derecho te dizen Decio, ca tú eres muerte del mundo' (*EH*, Paragraph 10, fol. 192^{vd}). While obviously a corruption of the Roman names Decius, Dagnus and Daia, all historical possibilities for Christopher's persecutor, the name has been twisted further to reflect the cruel personality of its owner semantically. For the purposes of this essay, I refer to Dagnus.

Christopher's name is given as 'Réprobo' (*M*), 'Rébrepo' (*F*), 'Rénebro' (*EH*), and even as 'Rebichón' (*EK*). These follow the general connotations of 'Reprobus'; although 'Rebichón' adds a bestial dimension. In short, it is a name that lacks social identity; he whose name is Reprobus has been cast out, judged guilty of deviance from an accepted code, or condemned to punishment. Each of these terms demands consideration of the counterpart to the outcast: the person who judges him ill-suited to society. One could postulate that his parents gave Reprobus' name to him on sight of the monster that they had produced. However, his name has been accepted by the individual himself and by society, demonstrating an implicit concurrence in the judgement. This verdict then extends to the reader, because in learning a name the reader feels some knowledge of the character, and it is difficult to remain unaffected by prejudice when names are supposed to represent the essence of a person.

Despite the impression that Reprobus' name gives to the reader, he is also called Christopher, the 'bearer of Christ'. It would be reasonable to expect that this name was bestowed after baptism, but the writers of all three manuscripts identify him with the word 'Christóval' from the very

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that the related adjective, aquiline, means 'eagle-like' (Room 1999). Klein's dictionary (1971), takes this one step further, and suggests that it is from '*aquilīnus*, "of, or pertaining to, the eagle," fr. *aquila*, "eagle", prob. lit. "the dark-colored (bird)", fem. of *aquilus*, "dark-colored", prop. "water-colored", fr. *aqua*, "water"'. However, as there is no connection between the character of Aquilina and water, or indeed dark colours, the image of the eagle is more useful, as a symbol of freedom, power, and conquest (Julien 1989: 15-16), because Aquilina is empowered by her actions in the temple.

[3] See Chapter One, note 9, for an outline of the reputation often attached to Decius.

beginning. It is not until the saint arrives in the king's court that the reader learns that he had a previous name. Readers know him as Christopher, and to be told that his previous name more closely matched his earlier behaviour allows them to see how much he has changed. The transformation from outcast to Christ-bearer happens instantly at the moment of carrying Christ across the river. However, it is also a progression that takes the space of the whole narrative, reflecting Christopher's development as his faith grows strong enough to withstand persecution.

The first time a character addresses Christopher by his name is when he carries the child across the river. Christ says, 'Christóval, ¡[sal fuera e] pásame allá!' (Paragraph 6, *M* fol. 53^{vc}, *EK* fol. 127^{rb}, and *F* fol. 91^{vc}) and '*Christó*val, no*n* te maravilles' (*EH*, Paragraph 7, fol. 192ra). The divine presence, the waters of the river, and the pronouncement of a name echo the strongest spiritual, visual, and aural symbols of baptism, and the experience changes Christopher's personality. Christ calls Christopher by his new name in terms of mastery ('¡pásame allá!') and comfort ('no*n* te maravilles'). His new identity is symbolically proven to fit his name, and in this scene he is recognised and called by it. As before he was defined by physical action and ignorant of spiritual activity, his identity is now structured by the action of bearing Christ across the river. This episode is the culminating point of the construction of Christopher's new character. His affirmation of a new identity in Christianity shows that he simultaneously recreates himself as a different person whose actions are governed by Christian principles ('Si no*n* porq*ue* só *christi*ano, vengaría yo este tuerto q*ue* me feziste', *F*, Paragraph 8, fol. 91^{vd}), and dramatically transcends his own personality by striving to imitate Christ.

Physical Appearance: Christopher the Cynocephalus

Whereas Christopher's name reflects his new, chosen values, his physical appearance less clearly separates his unbelieving past from his Christian present. Paragraph 1 of *EH*, *M* and *F* state that he is 'muy grra*n*de de cue*r*po e avía la cara muy espa*n*table, e avía en lue*n*go doze cobdos.' (*M*, fol. 52^{vd}; in *EK* he is 'XVI cobdos' tall, fol. 126^{vc}). The king is so frightened by his appearance that he falls from his throne.[4] However, further than that

[4] The act of falling is significant to Christian literature. Thompson (1955: I, 74) refers it to Satan's fall from heaven when he is cast out. This is paralleled by the events in the Garden of Eden, when Adam and Eve are expelled from paradise because they eat forbidden fruit (the Fall of Man). As in these two cases, the sin of disobedience or errant

Christopher is a giant and terrible to behold, the Escorial manuscripts give no clue as to how he is monstrous. *M* and *F*, on the other hand, include an extra section describing the saint when he first arrives in Samón:

> La cabeça dél es muy espa*n*table, e la faz asý fecha como de can. Los cabellos de la cabeça muy esparzidos e asý como color de oro. Los sus ojos son como la estrella d*e* la mañana. Los sus die*n*tes semeja*n* como de puerco monté*s*. La su voz e la su palabra no*n* ha ombre q*ue* la pueda dezir. (*M*, Paragraph 8b, fol. 54[ra])

The reader also hears at the beginning of these accounts that 'Santo *Christó*val era de t*ie*rra de Canaán, e era de aq*ue*llas gentes q*ue* come*n* los o*mnes*' (*F*, Paragraph 1, fol. 90[vc]). These statements are rich in imagery of the monstrous, and reflect very closely the depiction of Abominable in the *Contendings*. Perhaps the most outlandish and terrifying aspect of his appearance is the 'faz asý fecha como de can'. Christopher has been portrayed as a cynocephalus (dog-headed person) in both visual arts and literature. The Eastern tradition, descended from Greek accounts, affirms his monstrous nature, whereas the Western, Latin-descended legend includes fewer instances of these characteristics.[5]

The tradition of the cynocephali, or men with dogs' heads, dates back to Pliny's discussion of the monstrous races in his *Naturalis Historia*. John Block Friedman summarises these people as:[6]

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behaviour causes a fall with lasting effect. Here, Dagnus' fall warns the reader that a spiritual fall will double the physical one, and that his actions have caused both.

[5] Concerning the visual tradition surrounding Christopher's legend, Zofia Ameisenowa (1949: 42) says that in the sixth century, an icon of him with a dog's head was found in a monastery in Mount Sinai, although the icon has now been lost. He later comments that 'it is remarkable that no earlier images of the dog-headed St. Christopher have come to light in the East than those from the fifteenth century. Probably they have fallen victims to the frenzy of the iconoclasts' (43). However, there are records of their existence. In Western tradition, Christopher with a dog's head only appears twice: once in Usuard's *Martyrology* in the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek (from the middle of the twelfth century), and in a sixteenth-century window in the cathedral of Angers.

[6] Although Ctesias locates the cynocephali in India, there was some confusion between India and Ethiopia (in the *Contendings*, this was Christian's birthplace). Friedman and Figg (2000: 178-79) account for this with the statement: 'Ethiopians: A nation and ethnic group in southwest Africa; in medieval sources the name often indicated nothing more than a remote and exotic, but otherwise unspecified, group of people. [...] More importantly for early and medieval Christians, the dark skin of the Ethiopian, and

> *Cynocephali* (*"dog-head"*). Among the most popular of the races are the Dog-Heads, who according to Ctesias, live in the mountains of India. They communicate by barking. Dressed only in animal skins, they live in caves and are fleetfooted hunters, using swords, bows, and javelins. In the Alexander cycle the Cynocephali – in addition to their other qualities – have huge teeth and breathe flames. A carnivorous dog-headed man is shown in the Sion College bestiary. (1981: 15)

The lack of evidence in *EK* and *EH* would contradict the argument put forward by *M* and *F* that Christopher was a dog-headed man. Instead, these two manuscripts use a technique of understatement in order to suggest how terrible his appearance is, leaving the reader's imagination to complete the task of visualising a man who could terrify a king, even when bound. On the other hand, *M* and *F* provide a cynocephalus in the truest medieval tradition, with a dog's head, teeth resembling those of a mountain boar and the earlier statement that he comes from a land where cannibalism is common practice.[7]

The image of the cynocephalus can inform the text. The name 'Reprobus' has further relevance here. Christopher's representation as a member of a mythical, monstrous race hints at his unfamiliarity and outcast nature, and projects a xenophobic fear of the unknown. Historically, the saint was from Africa, from the outer boundaries of Roman civilisation. His status as an outsider and his outlandish appearance reinforce an underlying message of scrutiny, inclusivity, and tolerance in the accounts, advising the

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ultimately the Ethiopian himself, could also represent the corrupt condition of the human soul.' Clearly, the cynocephali are limited to the borders of the known world, along with Ethiopians, and the geographical confusion between African and Indian tribes was not seen as detail important enough to correct. So whereas any historical Christopher was likely to have been from Africa, the fact that cynocephali was originally located in India does not contradict his portrayal as one of them.

[7] There appears to be no link between the words 'puerco montés' and 'can', but the reference to the mountain boar may be explained by a palaeographic mistake upon translation of *M* and *F* into Spanish. The reference is not recorded by Graesse, but does appear in *BHL* 1764 as 'dentes ejus velut apri prominentes' (De Smedt 1891: 395). If 'prominentes' had been abbreviated as a variant of 'promntes', it could be argued that 'puerco montés' (*M*) and 'puerco montés' (*F*) are incorrect expansions of the more likely – but less colourful – image of prominent teeth.

reader to look beyond the teeth rather than dismissing him immediately as a monster, pagan, and alien.

In addition, Christopher is a giant, towering at a height of twelve cubits in *EH*, *F*, and *M*, and sixteen cubits in *EK*.[8] Giants represent the monstrous at its largest and most dangerous, and suggest wild topography and distant locations. Christopher is indeed giant-like, not merely because of his extreme height, but also because he comes from a land far away whose cultural practices are deemed uncivilised. The land of 'Canaán' (*M* and *F*, slight variations *EK* and *EH*) has been ambiguous from the times of the Bible. It was both the Promised Land of abundance provided by God as divine right for his chosen people, and a dangerous land inhabited by fearsome tribes, described by Numbers 13:22 as 'the descendants of a race of giants'. The legend of Christopher seems initially to refer to the latter connotations by giving no hint of his status as a chosen member of a royal line. The writer of the Spanish legend situates the saint's homeland as distant from its Western European readership, one that incorporates the hint of dog-like behaviour into its very name ('can-aán'). In short, Christopher is presented as a monstrosity occupying a land destined for more worthy people. This is reflected by the written legend: the tale of a dog-headed servant of the devil seems rather incongruous in a collection of hagiography, but conforms enough to patterns to earn its place.

Christopher's actions and martyrdom prove him later to transcend these negative implications and allow him to reach a stage of religious perfection. He is chosen by God to join him in heaven, and his bones become relics. His new name becomes a conduit for prayer and a sacred entity in its own right. Christopher's giant-like nature suggests not only the savage monster, but also the outward manifestation of a man of huge capacity and strength in the face of martyrdom. His status as a Canaanite allows him to complete the transformation from outcast into a man elected by God; he is a man from the chosen land of Israel. The nature of a saint with a dog's head stimulates the reader's attention and horror, but

[8] Twelve is a symbolic number in Christian literature, representing the number of apostles, and the number of tribes of Israel. Christopher's strength therefore is missing no part to make it a complete whole. Sixteen cubits is likely to be a corruption, partly because *EK* contains more unexplainable changes than the other manuscripts, and because sixteen is not as symbolic a number.

encourages a deeper reading of the character to find the saint beneath the frightening appearance.[9]

Christopher's other physical characteristics are just as startling. He has dishevelled golden hair, eyes that resemble the morning star, teeth like a wild boar's, and an indescribable voice. These aspects of his appearance focus on his head and face, which is summed up by *EH* as 'espantable mucho' (fol. 190^{rb}). His body is described as very large, and there is no description of clothing. His face represents his personality, frightening soldiers and inspiring awe in the two prostitutes with its luminosity. The judge feels so threatened by it that it becomes a target for a blow, an attack at the physical manifestation of his identity and power.

His distinguishing features deserve individual scrutiny. Christopher's golden hair suggests an angelic nature, but it is out of control, and lends a wild border to his unusual face. The symbolism is ambiguous, simultaneously suggesting unbridled sexuality, and an ascetic devotion characterised by a lack of concern for public appearance.[10] His eyes glitter unnaturally, but in the imitation of Christ. The name 'morning star' or 'day star' is a title bestowed on Christ and a symbol of royalty and prophecy.[11] It

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[9] The combination of animal and human is one that shocks and disgusts most readers, yet sexual history between two species appears to be a presupposition behind the establishment of the cynocephali tribe. Such unclean sexual ancestry also occurs in *La Celestina*. Blay Manzanera and Severin (1999: 10) mentions it in relation to the gods of Greece and Rome: 'Pasiphae and the Minotaur in their associated labyrinthine underworld are compared to Minerva's dog (a humorous, malapropistic misinterpretation of her husband Vulcan[...]) and the ape which allegedly had intercourse with Calisto's grandmother [...], giving him a lineage of lust and shame.' This type of discourse remains largely implicit, and the throwaway comment of Sempronio's is not referred to again, but left remain a seed in the reader's imagination. Calisto looks normal, but the audience is encouraged to look beneath his appearance for motivations and corruption that belie his looks. In the case of Christopher, the dog's head fulfils the opposite function: that of a mask, encouraging the reader to look under it to find the human being and the saint. References to animals in both texts are the catalysts for a call for deeper scrutiny.

[10] Two essays from *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures* (1998) demonstrate different readings of dishevelled hair. Dikötter (51) says that hair 'most commonly symbolized the fragile border separating the human from the beast', relevant to the discussion of the cynocephalus. Olivelle (26) emphasises the social nature of hair: 'Not grooming the hair, not controlling it in any way, letting it grow naturally into a wild and matted condition – all this appears to symbolize a person's total and absolute withdrawal from social structures and controls and from human culture as such.' Christopher's sanctity requires that he make any concerns for his body subservient to concerns for his soul. His unkempt hair reflects his terrifying yet shining face, in that it is wild yet golden.

[11] See Easton 1995. See also Revelation 22:16 and 2 Peter 1:19 for references to the morning star in this context.

is the supreme symbol of election and birthright, marking Christopher as Christ's chosen one, just as Christ took the symbol to allude to his own royal descent. Reference to the boar's tusks (even if it is due to a scribal error) adds another dimension of animalism to the mixture of dog and man, emphasising the danger and savagery of the outcast. The indescribable voice is left to the reader's imagination, but its power will be discussed in Chapter Four.

These characteristics provide a hybrid mixture of man, animal, and God which is at once recognisable, terrifying, and worthy of admiration. The saint is positioned as an intermediary between the divine and the human, a human being who has been elevated to religious glory. The monster is positioned between the base instincts of the animal and the self-control of the civilised man. Christopher appears to be a monster, treading the limits of humanity, but is revealed to be closer to God than most human beings. He provides a link between the animal and divine states without surrendering his humanity.

This paradox of monstrous appearance and spotless soul is a theme echoed throughout hagiography. The archetypal martyr is beautiful, but his or her body is mutilated and broken in death. As the body is destroyed, the soul is perfected. Christopher's legend provides a variation on this pattern in that the 'corteza' of his body is already monstrous and terrible, making it harder to perceive the 'meollo' of the soul within. This message is a warning to the reader to be aware of the difficulties of classifying people by their appearance rather than by their actions.

Self-Definition and Self-Denial through Action

Both Christopher and Christian from the *Contendings of the Apostles* are defined by their identity within a framework of Christianity, and more precisely, by actions coherent with the doctrine of their religion. Christopher means 'bearer of Christ', a congruent title for his conduct in the river episode. However, he is defined by action more than just by name.

All saints observed a life of *imitatio Christi*, the imitation of Christ's characteristics or ministry.[12] In martyrdom, saints re-enacted the sacrifice that Christ underwent on the cross, and hoped to gain eternal life through pain and death. Christopher follows this pattern, undergoing a series of tortures that echo Christ's sufferings. He is chained and brought before a

[12] See Chapter Four, note 8.

figure of authority, mirroring the trial before Pilate. He is made to sit on a bench of iron with an iron helmet placed on his head, both heated to a high temperature, drawing parallels with the soldiers' mockery of Christ by dressing him in royal purple and placing a crown of thorns on his head. The bench and helmet can be read as throne and crown, the symbols of kingship. Christopher is tied to a wooden beam, representative of the cross, whilst arrows are fired at him, implying the suffering that Christ bore when crucified. Finally, his decapitation marks the definitive loss of life, the point of martyrdom and the ultimate expression of sharing in Christ's sacrifice.

Despite the evidence of *imitatio Christi*, earlier in the accounts there is evidence that Christopher was in the habit of self-definition through action prior to living up to his name of 'Christ-bearer' or emulating Christ's death. The start of *EH* runs thus:

> Sant Christóval era de tierra de Canahám, e vínole a coraçón que buscase el mayor príncipe que avía en el mundo, e que vernía a morar con él. (Paragraph 1, fol. 190^{rb})

Christopher is introduced as a man with a past in the land of Canaan, desirous of the chance to live with the greatest prince in the world. In short, his own aspirations and actions, conditioned by his origins, construct his identity.

When he decides to serve Christ instead of human master or the devil, he is at a loss as to how best to approach the task. The following dialogue ensues between the saint and a hermit:

> E díxole el hermitaño: 'Este rey que tú deseas servir, éste es el servicio que él quiere de ti. A ti converná ayunar muy a menudo.' E díxole Christóval: 'En otra cosa le puedo yo mejor servir que en ayunar, que non lo puedo yo fazer.' E díxole el hermitaño: 'Pues conviene que fagas oración.' E dixo Christóval: 'Non puedo, ca non sé qué servicio es, nin lo puedo yo fazer.' E díxole el hermitaño: '¿Sabes tú el río que es en tal lugar que peligran muchos de los que pasan por aý e mueren?' E díxole Christóval: 'Yo lo sé muy bien.' E díxole el hermitaño: 'Porque eres grande e de grant fuerça, si morases ý e pasases a todos los que quisiesen pasar, plazería mucho a Jhesu Christo dello, a quien tú deseas servir, e allí te

> aparescerá.' E díxole Christóval: 'Este servicio te digo yo que puedo muy bien fazer, e prométote que lo faga esto muy bien.' (*EH*, Paragraph 5, fols. 191^{rb-vc})

Christopher refuses to fast on the grounds that it would be impossible, and discounts prayer as something he does not know how to do. According to 'The Rule of Three', a topos common to folklore, the third suggestion is the accepted one. Only in concrete, practical tasks will he serve Christ, and these are the tasks his physique allows him to perform best. The first piece of theological instruction that he accepts is a simple equation of service and reward, dealing with no universal ideals. Over the course of this dialogue, he establishes his character as one that is motivated by action and social benefit. Offerings of self-denial and the private communion with God through prayer seem to be useless and irrelevant to him. At this point in the narrative he functions within a society, and an apostolic mission directed at fellow human beings is more relevant than contemplative forms of service. Consistent with his character, his wish to involve himself with society and function within a structure reflects his deepest wish is to find a worthy master to serve. At the same time, his practical sense of service makes him endearing to the reader.

Christopher appears to convert to Christianity because he understands the process as one of social vocation rather religious calling. However, it soon develops into a faith that includes preaching, prayer, miracles, evangelical activity, and martyrdom: a full complement of public and private acts of devotion. By the end of the account he is in a state of prayer so deep that it takes effort to rouse him from it:

> E entendiéndolo *Christó*val, echóse luego en or*ació*n, mas las niñas, faziéndole fuerça, feriéndol de las palmas e abraçándol, levantóse él. E díxoles: 'Fijas, ¿qué demandades, o por q*ué* entrastes acá?' (*M*, Paragraph 11, fol. 54^{vc})

As Christopher heads to his death, his faith becomes less involved in the world and more directed towards heaven. Still, however, his stance is a one of physical prayer – 'echóse en oración' gives the impression of a bodily

movement propelling the saint into a state of prayer. Prayer is also his final action before he is beheaded.[13]

The emphasis on Christopher's physical action, even during prayer, is reflected by several other images in the text. The saint is permanently in motion, journeying and seeking out the finest master, but having witnessed the miracle of the blossoming pole, he makes one final journey to Samón and effectively mirrors the miracle with his life. In short, he flourishes in one place and bears fruit in his martyrdom. This sense of active stillness is portrayed in the type of prayer cited above. This silence and calm demonstrates its power in the episode of torture involving the arrows. The soldiers shoot darts that hang in the air, paralysed by Christopher's faith, like armour of stillness around him. Both physical activity and action within a framework of stillness are important to his identity as a saint, but as the narrative draws to a close, the sense that events occur thanks to quiet faith rather than physical action takes precedence.

Definition through Interaction: Vassallage

Christopher pursues the course of his faith not in isolation, but with constant reference to those around him. His former name, Reprobus, implies the counterpart to his social interaction: one who judges and comments on his activities, the one who deems him a reprobate. His independence in matters such as taking the advice of the hermit is not an expression of stubborn individuality, but of a sense of directed service and priority. His first aim is to find someone worthy of his service by looking for the greatest prince in the world. Finding him afraid of the name of the devil, he leaves because he states that: '*q*uiero yr buscar al diablo e tomarlo he por señor, e fazerme he su vasallo' (*F*, Paragraph 2, fol. 90^{vd}).

Christopher looks for a direct mode of service. Although driven by a desire to serve, the Spanish accounts use the language of vassallage and feudalism to express his interaction with his lord. As vassal, he would be socially bound to supply his lord with resources, dedication, and effort. In return, the lord would extend his protection and allow him land. The purpose of vassallage is to be of financial mutual benefit.[14] It seems

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[13] See Chapter Four for a discussion of falling, and the spatial dynamics linking Christopher and Dagnus.

[14] See Harney (1993: 71), where he cites the *Poema de mio Cid*: '¡qué bien pagó a sus vassallos mismos! / A cavalleros e a peones fechos los ha ricos' (847-48). He also comments that 'the good lord is he who generously provides for loyal vassals'.

therefore strange to use the language of such an intrinsically social and economic phenomenon to describe the spiritual relationship between a saint and God.

EH describes the sealing of the bond between Christopher and the devil in the following terms:

> E luego p*ar*tióse del rey e fue buscar al diablo. E yendo por un grant yermo, vio una grant conpaña de cavalleros, de los quales vino a él uno mucho espantable e muy cruel. E demandóle q*ue* dó yva. E respondióle Sant *Christó*val e díxole: 'Vó buscar al diablo, q*ue* sea mi señor.' E díxole el diablo: 'Yo só ésse q*ue* tú demandas e q*ue* tú buscas.' E gozándose Sant *Christó*val, fízole omenage e promissión p*ara* sienpre jamás, e tomóle por su señor. (Paragraph 3, fol. 190^{vd})

Much of the imagery is linked with military rank, action, and defence. Christopher is in a wilderness, and in this hostile place the band of 'cavalleros' could prove either a menace or a source of protection. The vocabulary underpins notions of social formation. The word 'cavallero' can mean knight or simply horsemen, but the implications are of bravery, military action, and nobility. The devil shares with Christopher the characteristic of having an appearance that frightens the beholder (the term 'espantable' locates both in the same semantic field), but the addition of 'cruel' separates them somewhat ambiguously. In presenting such a monstrous individual as a saint, Christopher's story contains the implicit moral that appearances should be questioned.

The lexis used to describe Christopher's entry into the devil's servitude heightens the sense of social contract between the two. Using words such as 'señor', 'omenage' and 'promissión', they are united by titles, public deeds, and promises. They enact the ceremony of vassallage, and Christopher's emotion is one of joy because he believes he has found his purpose in life.

This ceremony of servitude and promises is later found to be on a false premise, because whereas Christopher serves and follows the devil on the understanding that the latter is the greatest prince in the world, the devil is no such person. He proves to be cowardly when confronted with a cross. Confessing that this fear is because Christ is more powerful than he, the devil is powerless to prevent Christopher from seeking his new master.

Interaction with Christ

Christopher's relationship with Christ is of a different nature. The remnants of feudal vocabulary are left only with reference to service, not mutual benefit. Christopher makes his promise to serve, but it is made to the hermit, not directly to Christ himself, and no corresponding promise is made to protect him. Christ remains absent and silent until he appears disguised at the river, seeming to need Christopher's help. The relationship now incorporates elements of faith and freely bestowed service. There is no bargaining, no threatening to serve another master if Christ does not fulfil his side of the promise. Christopher's service is now one that orientates his life and death, and it is recognised by Christ not as a relationship of physical companionship, but of pure service: 'ca yo só Jhesu *Christo*, el tu rey a q*ui*en tú syrves en este fecho' (*M*, Paragraph 7, fol. 53^{vd}).

Christopher no longer needs the social rituals of feudalism; his faith suffices. The interaction is no longer physical and social, but spiritual. It is mutually beneficial in that he furthers the Church in return for spiritual fulfilment. In return, he receives benefits that at first sight appear to be the antithesis of the physical protection from danger that serving a feudal lord should offer: he gains the chance to become a martyr. Christian theology reads this as the true chance for protection of the soul, a sacrifice for sin, and so spiritual protection is substituted for that of the body.

There are other benefits for Christopher in this relationship. Once more, Abominable/Christian from the *Contendings* must be considered, because the parallels with his character and Christopher's overlap where divine gifts and the construction of identity are the subject matter. Firstly, both characters receive confirmation of their faith via a direct experience of God. Christian is saved from a fire (albeit of God's creation) in return for a promise to believe; Christopher is saved from drowning (albeit in difficulties caused by carrying Christ) and then offered proof of Christ's identity. Experience of the divine forms part of their character.

The gift that Christian and Christopher have in common is language. When considering Christopher's portrayal as a cynocephalus, he is described in *M* and *F* as:

> La su voz e la su palabra no*n* ha ombre q*ue* la pueda dezir. E es ta*n* atrevido q*ue* fabló palabras muy torpes contr*a* ti e contr*a* n*ues*tros dioses. (*M*, Paragraph 8b, fol. 54ra)

Although Christopher's voice is indescribable, it is intelligible. His words are clearly understood by the messenger, and his later conversations with the people and ruler of Samón demonstrate his capacity to make himself understood. However, the gift of language is precisely that: a gift granted through prayer. This process typologically reverses the motif of Babel (Genesis 11: 1-9). Instead of being denied communication for the sin of pride, Christopher is divinely granted language in order to preach. Christian, from the *Contendings*, undergoes the same transformation in an even more astonishing way.

Cynocephali were deemed to be one of the more civilised of the monstrous races because of their use of weapons and penchant for wearing clothes. However, despite these basic marks of social behaviour, they were said to communicate by barking, not speaking. Speech divided cynocephali from other races as much as their dog-headed appearance did.[15] Christian is granted speech, not merely dominion of new language, to profess his faith and communicate with the apostles he serves. In the Spanish accounts Christopher undergoes a similar transformation from voicelessness to communication, from uncivilised, pagan barking to expression of Christ's message. Language is part of his identity, and fundamental to his interaction with others, therefore also his ability to convert and become a martyr. Until he speaks, he is not really the focus of the attention in the town, but an oddity.

Interaction is a crucial aspect of the construction of Christopher's identity, and communication and language are key aspects to this. Complicating this further, Friedman argues that the transformation from barking to speaking (such as in Christian's case) reflects the common

[15] This said, they were generally, yet tentatively, accepted as descendants from Adam and Noah, therefore part of the human race. Saint Augustine of Hippo writes: 'What shall I say of the Cynocephali, whose dog-like head and barking proclaim them beasts rather than men? [...] But whoever is anywhere born a man, that is, a rational mortal animal, no matter what unusual appearance he presents in colour, movement, sound, now how peculiar he is in some power, part, or quality of his nature, no Christian can doubt that he springs from one protoplast. We can distinguish the common human nature from that which is peculiar, and therefore wonderful. [...] Wherefore, to conclude this questions cautiously and guardedly, either these things which have been told of some races have no existence at all; or if they do exist, they are not human races; or if they are human, they are descended from Adam' (Dods 1878: 116-18). Christopher's two most alien features, his dog's head, and his inability to communicate are in the first case ignored, and in the second, overcome.

metaphors of animalistic noise conveying non-Christian speech and intelligible language as the Christian message (1981: 67-69). Language acquisition is a metaphor for understanding of Christian faith and doctrine, and preaching this faith. When Christopher and Christian are granted an intelligible language, they become full members of the faith.

Interaction with Negatives

The interactions considered so far have been positive, in that Christopher attempts to co-operate with his three masters. However, it is also important to consider how he constructs his identity in reference to characters of opposing beliefs. This aspect of character-construction is best examined through a consideration of the interaction with the king Dagnus.

F and *M* state that Dagnus sends for Christopher through a mixture of curiosity and a desire to quash the preaching that the saint is performing in his city. The Escorial manuscripts give no reason for the summons. The first time the two characters meet, Dagnus falls from his throne in terror. A dialogue ensues in which the two fight a linguistic battle of exposition and reasoning concerning the veracity of each other's religion:

> Preguntól de su nonbre e de su tierra. E díxol *Christó*val: 'Ante que me baptizase, dixiéronme Rebichón. E agora dízenme *Christó*val.' E díxol el rey: 'Tomeste nonbre del loco de Jhesu *Christo* crucificado que non aprovechó a sý, nin podrá aprovechar a ty. E agora di, canoneo encantador, ¿por qué non sacrificas a los nuestros dioses?' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Con derecho te llaman Dragón, ca tú eres muerte del mundo, e conpañero del diablo, e los tus dioses los omes los fazen con sus manos.' E díxol el rey: 'E tú fuste criado entre las bestias, e por ende non puedes fablar synon cosas de bestias e lo que los omes non saben. E sy agora quieres sacrificar a los dioses, rescibrás de mí grandes honrras. Sy non, sepas que serás atormentado por muchas maneras.' E non queriendo sacrificar, mandól meter en la cárcel. (*EK*, Paragraph 10, fol. 128ra)

Dagnus attempts to define Christopher by categorising him according to his name and his homeland. The saint, however, parries these efforts by mentioning no country at all, and giving names that had been bestowed by others: 'dixiéronme', 'dízenme'. He identifies his present self as only in

relation to Christ. Unsurprisingly, the king has little patience either for Christians or for men who have forsaken their names, and launches an attack on the choice of identity. Dagnus offers a perception of Christopher that is defined by his foolish choice of Christianity as a religion, his origins in Canaan, his possible associations with the dark arts, and his lack of obedience to the gods of the city. Once more Christopher replies not with an answer to the question, but with his own perception of the king: namely as one whose name is eminently suitable, a destructive force linked to the devil, and spiritually blind. Further characterisation is provided as Dagnus outlines Christopher's likeness to animals, saying that his words only make sense to beasts, ironically ignorant of the fact that Christopher makes no sense to metaphorical beasts: those who do not wish to hear his message. He does indeed talk of what men do not know: Christ. Dagnus offers Christopher the choice of earning riches by sacrificing to his gods, or torture.

This dialogue shows the two characters talking at cross-purposes. They simultaneously refuse to reply to one another's questions, but they also construct a perfect exposition of one another's chief points. Christopher's links to Christ are both professed and accused, whereas Dagnus is proved to be as shortsighted as the saint predicts. They participate in a second-person dialogue where each defines the other whilst characterising himself through his words and attitude to his opponent. The reader is left with the impression that although Christopher is now due to be tortured, he had the intellectual upper hand. The words of beasts unknown to men that Dagnus heard as a cacophony of unintelligibility is presented by the text as the true message that ensures Christopher eternal life. He is without rank or social importance and he has no army to defend him, yet in contrast to Dagnus he is a more appealing, insightful character.

The Saint and Travel

It is important to consider Christopher not merely as a saint constructed by interaction and character, but also experience. His first encounter with an event or phenomenon, often guided by another character, is regularly repeated with the saint playing the role of guide. Thus, each point of his experience presents itself in binary form, reflecting the two halves of the legend (the second half beginning with the entry into Samón). The first is a tale of seeking and gaining experience, a metaphorical version

described thus: 'E muriendo así, esta *vi*rgen fuése p*ara* p*araý*so' (*EH*, Paragraph 13, fol. 193[rb]). The use of the word 'fuése' suggests movement and physical travel. Christopher's role of teacher is elevated to that of route by which Aquilina enters paradise.

The narrative's pattern of journey and seeking was perceived by the early Christian Church, and led to Christopher being commonly celebrated as the patron saint of travellers. By using images of travel and movement in his legends, he represented the journey of strengthening faith that Christians are supposed to emulate, as well as the wider journey from life to death.

The Saint and Preaching

Preaching is likely to have been fundamental to the purpose the *Legenda aurea*. Following Sherry L. Reames' work on hagiography from this collection commonly viewed as sermon material, it is logical to cast the saints' lives as *exempla*, providing the listener with a story whose protagonist espouses a set of values to be emulated.[16] However, Christopher adds a further dimension to his role as example by imitating the journey from ignorance to faith. His experience charts the vague feeling of vocation, instruction with the hermit, baptism with Christ, and eventually the culmination of his life and faith in martyrdom. The audience follows a saint who has no previous knowledge of Christianity, and therefore asks all of the questions relevant to basic doctrine. The result is a portrayal of simple faith lived out in action.[17]

The catalyst to Christopher beginning his new life is the conversation with the hermit. The saint is searching for Christ, and finds nothing but a hermit. This result at the end of a long search suggests initial disappointment, but it is quickly made clear that this episode in Christopher's story is yet another stage, culminating in a further new

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[16] Reames looks at Voragine's sermons to assess the purpose of the *Legenda aurea*, and states that: '[Jacobus de Voragine's] sermons dwell by preference on the moral lessons to be derived from the saints' exemplary conduct' (Reames 1985: 103).

[17] In this instance, Christopher's experience mirrors that of Paul, and also of many prostitute saints. This model of sanctity is an alternative to that of the confessor saint, whose life is destined for saintliness from before birth. Instead, these saints have no learning curve, but a direct and intimate encounter with Christ's power, and are granted immediate grace to change their lives. It is a model conditioned by divine grace and compassion, emphasising the magnanimous nature of redemption. See Ward (1987), Karras (1996), Coon (1997), and Winstead (1997) for examples of it amongst females, and Weinstein and Bell (1982) on different functions of chastity as a measure of sanctity in this paradigm.

of the second, where torture and martyrdom complete the faith that was born in the first.

The first notion the reader has of Christopher is that of a travelling man hoping to find the greatest master in the world. Images of journey and landscape continue with descriptions of the 'yermo' where he and the devil meet for the first time, the roads and barren land where the devil leads him, the search for an isolated hermit who will tell him of Christ, and most importantly, the river. The river represents a place of constant movement, not only in its own unpredictable and constantly changing state, but also by merit of Christopher aiding other travellers by permitting them to cross it and continue on their way. The saint's journey in the first half of the legend is reflected by his untiring search for the greatest master, and his only uneasy resting-place is a 'casiella'. He even encounters Christ at night (*EH*), demonstrating the constant nature of the journey, as unrelenting as time.

The next journey in Christopher's experience is that of the river crossing with Christ. The child weighs him down and he finds himself in difficulties:

> E q*ua*nto más yva adelante, tanto más crescié el agua, e el niño sienpre pesava más, en mane*ra* q*ue* *Christó*val víase en gra*nt* angostura, e aviendo miedo de perescer. Enpe*ro* escapando malabés, puso el niño en la ribera. (*EK*, Paragraph 6, fol. 127^{rb-vc})

This journey is a physical enactment of the transformation that occurs at baptism. Christopher is afraid of dying in the water, but survives. In Christian doctrine, the waters of baptism simultaneously represent death and life, drowning and sustenance. Christopher comes as close to death as possible before his life is renewed on the other bank. Symbolically the other side of the river can be seen as a geographical representation of the new phase in Christopher's life, the confirmation of his faith. The journey must be read as an allegory of baptism in order for the Christian doctrine to make sense.

This journey of growing spiritual strength, crystallised in the action of baptism, is repeated once more in the journey to Samón and the events that lead to martyrdom. Christopher's spiritual voyage continues by torture and death, but also in his role as mentor of the new Christians. After converting Aquilina, she is tortured and killed. When her soul leaves her body, it is

beginning, not an end in itself. Just as the hermit's preaching brings Christopher a step closer to Christian doctrine, the meeting enables him to work at the river. As the journey metaphor implied, there is no end point of earthly arrival, merely a signpost to the final destination of perfect spirituality and death.

Preaching, therefore is the catalyst of this stage of Christopher's understanding of his faith, which will eventually become his distinguishing characteristic. His character acts as an echo board, representing contemporary Christians in their doubts and questions. Other characters answer with words praising active service and his example is offered as a paradigm of good behaviour.

Christopher puts the preaching he has heard into action in the second half of the legend. He converts eight thousand men in Samón with the miracle of the flowering staff. This visual display of peaceful, productive faith is strengthened by his preaching of Christianity. He mentions his religion once when he refuses to retaliate or otherwise engage in violence done to him. He later outlines his belief system when he meets the king. After this, Christopher's preaching is of a visual and delegated nature only. When in prayer, his face inspires curiosity amongst the soldiers, and later the desire to convert. His preaching is delegated to the actions of Nicea and Aquilina when they destroy the idols, because the moral point is made despite his absence. It can be assumed that he preaches to them – or at least they know of his preaching – because of their words:

> '¡*Sancto* de Dios, ávenos m*er*ced por que podamos creer en aq*ue*l dios q*ue* tú p*re*dicas! (*M*, Paragraph 11, fol. 54^{vc})

When they pull down the statues in the temple, they practise what Christopher preached. He followed the hermit's words, and now he has become the mentor of his own fledgling Christians.

Preaching in Christopher's case has less to do with vocal fireworks and more with corporeal signs, such as the unearthly glow of his face when he kneels to pray. His preaching is active and symbolic, and he becomes a physical beacon and example of Christianity to the people of Samón.

The Saint and Suffering

Christopher defines himself as a Christian, and carries this to the point of martyrdom. His experience of suffering demonstrates the paradox

of Christian faith – life, the body, and physical pain mean nothing when considered in the light of life after death, the soul, and the joy and rewards of heaven. The image of suffering is introduced to the account when he encounters Christianity for the first time in its entirety, crossing the river:

> Niño, pusísteme en grand peligro. E tanto pesas que sy toviesse todo el mundo sobre mí, non podría sentir mayor carga. (*F*, Paragraph 7, fol. 91^{vc})

The explicit experience of anguish and pain felt in the river is intrinsically linked to the implicit experience of joy of finally meeting the master he desired. Although Christopher's emotions upon the child's revelation are not recorded, the fact that his character was wholly motivated by an aim to find Christ makes it clear that he has reached his goal, suggesting satisfaction and gladness.

Christopher's fear of drowning implies that despite the words of the hermit, he has not yet grasped the true paradox of Christianity. However, there is no fear or doubt when the suffering begins again in torture. On the king's orders, Christopher is beaten with iron bars, sits on a burning iron bench, wears a burning iron helmet, is tied to a post and shot with arrows, insulted, and eventually beheaded. However, he escapes harm in all but the last of these actions. Like Nicea and Aquilina, who are between them pulled apart, burned, and beheaded, he is only touched by the final element of torture. Nicea escapes the fire, and underneath Christopher 'quebró el escaño así como sy fuese madero flaco, e *Christó*val salió ende syn lisión' (*M*, Paragraph 14, fol. 54^{vd}). The arrows directed at him hang in the air and do not touch their target. With this divine protection, pain is rendered irrelevant. The martyr is able to withstand excessive forces on his or her body, and miraculous intervention prevents physical harm.

Again, Christopher's body becomes an example. The activity of prayer showed physical signs of spirituality. In death and torture, the martyr may be immune to the sensations of mutilation and physical suffering, but the body is shown to be easily destroyed and unworthy of attention. It is also shown to be the perfect sacrifice to God. In the double traditions of slaughtered or burnt offerings, dating back to the Old Testament, and that of *imitatio Christi*, Christopher is at once the lamb on the altar making a sacrifice for others, and a personal imitation of Christ giving his life for others.

The experience of pain and martyrdom to the saint is one of both public and private importance. It forms a public set of symbols designed to underline the Christian message of sacrifice of temporal life in order to gain eternal spiritual life in a shocking and graphic way. Yet it is also a negated experience, a non-pain, because the suffering is not fully felt. Through divine intervention, the saint is protected from physical agony, and the body becomes an unfeeling canvas which is on display to others whilst still allowing the saint consciously to experience the full effect of the martyrdom and keep his head, so to speak, until the final moment.

Divine Election of a Saint

Christopher's protection against pain is one indication of the authority lent to him, the basis of the reader verifying that he does indeed represent the Christian faith. The use of miracles strengthens his case and proves the truth of his message. As he receives protection from physical harm, his martyrdom is prolonged and his example is made more acute. He also witnesses a miracle whereby God provides evidence in the form of a supernatural event (the flowering of the staff):

> 'E por *que* creas *que* te digo verdat, *qua*ndo pasares allende, fincarás el blago cerca de la tu casilla en t*ie*rra, e verás luego en él fojas e fruto.' E esto dicho, luego le desaparesció. E desque vino Sant *Christó*val e fincó su blago en t*ie*rra, leva*n*tóse de mañana e fallóle en guisa de palma, con fojas e con dátiles. (*EH*, Paragraph 7, fol. 192[ra])

The statement alone is not enough to prove Christ's authority; neither is the miracle of arriving safely at the other bank of the river. There is an additional miracle performed in the guise of making a dead pole blossom. It appears merely a tool, but is now capable of bearing fruit overnight; a useful and practical display of miraculous power whose benefit is easily understood by Christopher and the reader.[18]

The saint seems to be ignorant of Christianity, but is capable through the experience of miracles to bear spiritual fruit of preaching to others.

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[18] Two analogues according to Thompson (1955) are Joseph of Arimathea's flowering staff by which he brought the thorn tree to the lands of his travels (I, 332), and the folkloric motif whereby the saint hits the ground with a staff, and flowers bloom from the ground (III, 253).

Once more the image of unexpected beauty beneath a useless or frightening exterior is brought to the fore.[19]

Christopher, having performed this miracle in domestic privacy, goes on to prove the relayed message of Christ by repeating it in Samón:

> E estonce Sant *Christó*val fincó su piértega en t*ie*rra e rogó a Dios q*ue* le floresciese por q*ue* co*n*vertiese el pueblo. E luego en punto q*ue* esto fue fecho, creyeron en Jhesu *Christo* ocho mill om*n*es. (*EH*, Paragraph 8, fol. 192^{rb})

The saint here confirms that God has chosen him to preach and convert people. The miracle demonstrates Christopher's status as one of Christ's elect. He is now a conduit of divine power.

The last miracle is Christopher's acquisition of the language of Samón, already discussed at some length above. Although it is not impossible that he should learn a foreign language, he appears to be granted control of it immediately after praying ('*Christó*val después que ganó de Jhesu *Christo* lo q*ue* dema*n*dava', *F*, Paragraph 8, fol. 91^{vd}). This miracle is intended to prove not only that God approves of Christopher's faith, but also of the manner in which he preaches; the location in space and time are endorsed. Through a combination of non-violent and helpful miracles, his behaviour and sanctity are publicly sanctioned.[20]

With the fact that Christopher is granted a new name, by which Christ himself calls him, and the miracles mentioned above, the author attempts to show that divine intervention proves the sanctity of the protagonist. However, there is also human affirmation of it. First, the soldiers are converted to his faith. Second, the two prostitutes call him a saint by name and address him in terms common to prayer and devotional language, such as 'sancto', 'ave piadat' (*EK*), 'ave merced' (*M*, *F*, and *EH*), and the verbs 'creer' and 'predicar'.

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[19] The phallus-shaped flowering staff also suggests fertility (possibly having a role in pre-Christian rites). The moment of resurrection for the stick marks the moment when Christopher's faith is confirmed, and he is ready to help others regenerate into a new life as Christians, increasing the Church's membership.

[20] *M* includes a Latin appendix where a further miracle and direct divine participation occurs. God grants Christopher's wish that his remains may become relics, thus sanctioning his saintliness further. As a hispanist, I invite experts on Latin to work on this appendix, as it lies outside the remit of this project.

This is the first of only two occasions when Christopher is directly called *sancto* by a character rather than the narrative voice. The other occurs at the end of the *EH*, where the king cures his blindness with a paste made from Christopher's blood. He lays it on his eyes with the words, 'en el nonbre de Dios e de Sant *Christó*val' (Paragraph 15, fol. 193^{vc}). [21] Christopher's sanctity is confirmed by representatives of both sexes, and of nobility as well as common soldiers and prostitutes, the wide range demonstrating that the truth of his saintliness crosses divisions of sex, class, and nationality. The saint is portrayed as approachable for all, and authenticated by all. In other words, a human recognition and voicing of Christopher's sanctity complement the election made by God in the form of miracles.

Conclusion

The character of Christopher is carefully balanced to portray a man who is infinitely human and recognisable in his pragmatism and literalism, and also gradually develops into the spiritual culmination represented by the martyr. His physical resemblance to a cynocephalus is intended not to alienate him from his audience, but to encourage them to seek out the saint beneath the monster, the Christian beneath the pagan. Using imagery of monstrosities engages the listener's horror and attention, but ultimately Christopher's identity is founded not on excess of the grotesque, but excess in all areas, most especially Christian faith. These characteristics are productive stimuli from which discussions of Christian and saintly identity are able to blossom. He is the paradigm of excessive human behaviour in terms of both Christianity and monstrosity, approaching angels on one side and animals on another. Despite this, his voice remains one of physical realities and practicalities: deeply human.

[21] See Chapter Four for a fuller discussion of blindness and perception.

Chapter Four
Fear, Power, and the Voice: Readings of Authority

Fear is a major theme in the narrative of Saint Christopher in medieval Spanish. It underpins characterisation and doctrine. It is seen as both negative and positive; its misguided application is a warning against the dangers of superstition and failure to identify meanings, and its positive use inspires a healthy sense of respect and reverence. As a fundamental concept in the legend of Christopher, I examine fear in relation to power and the voice, two further key aspects of the texts. The protagonists often measure power in terms of the fear it inspires, highlighting its attractiveness, but also the responsibilities and resources that accompany material power. The dimension of voice in the legend goes beyond consideration of narrative strategy to ask questions about the meaning and consequences of silence and communication relative to hagiography. Throughout this section, power, fear, and voice will provide alternating yet inseparable focus points through which to gain a perspective of some of the underlying themes of the legend.

Fear of the Unknown

Christopher is portrayed variously as a giant, cynocephalus, and cannibal. He is from a distant land whose customs would have been unfamiliar to the audience of Spanish Christians in the Middle Ages. His alien, monstrous status lends him a frightful aspect, summarised as 'espantable'. In his solitary search for a worthy master, Christopher represents a fear of the unknown, both in the action of looking for a master he has never seen, and in his frightening physical presence. His exterior trajectory reflects his alien and ignorant interior identity. Nothing about him is instantly recognisable or homely. Amongst characters of higher birth or ambition (such as the prince at the beginning, or the devil), he is welcomed because of his strength, but the distance in outlooks prevents a deeper relationship from establishing itself, until Christ appears at the river.

From the scene in the river, Christopher also encapsulates a different sort of fear: a Christian fear of God and his power.[1] This manifests itself as a

[1] In some ways Christopher represents a prototype of the 'Everyman' topos. In the introduction to his edition of the play, John S. Farmer (1906: vii) states that the journey of Everyman is 'grounded on the old Buddhist fable popular and well known in Europe as "Barlaam and Josephat", though [...] the plot [...] was most likely drawn directly from the monkish *Legenda aurea*.' Christopher's legend is partially built on representative figures rather than individualistic particularities, and the way in which readers are privy to his

calm, respectful awe, particularly when contrasted with the nervousness and xenophobic violence inspired by an unfamiliar face, such as occurs in response to the saint's arrival in Samón. There is little difference between the physical manifestation of adoration of the divine in prayer, and fear; a prostrate physical position is required for both emotions (the king falls from his chair in fright, and Christopher lays on the ground when praying).[2] Just as Christopher's appearance seems unusual and foreign, yet symbolises a person worthy of emanation, fear of his person indicates a misplaced fear that should be turned to awe because of his status as conduit of divine grace. He represents both fear of the alien, and a righteous fear of God.

Christopher is not merely frightening for his threatening appearance and foreign provenance, but because he is supposed by the judges and the king to be insane or a magician:

> E demie*n*tra que estava él rogando a Dios, los juezes, cuydando q*ue* era loco, dexáronle. (*EK*, Paragraph 8, fol. 127^{vc})
>
> E díxol el rey: 'Tomeste nonbr*e* del loco de Jh*es*u *Chris*to crucificado q*ue* no*n* aprovechó a sý, ni*n* podrá aprovechar a ty.
>
> E agora di, canoneo encantador, ¿por q*ué* no*n* sac*ri*ficas a los n*ues*tros dioses?' (*EK*, Paragraph 10, fol. 128ra)

Any action congruent with the practice of Christianity is immediately labelled alien and mad. The reason why Christopher was left alone to pray in the first instance, whether he seemed to be a harmless madman, or because his physical appearance was too frightening to approach, is not specified. Either way, he remains alienated by his faith, and marked as deficient in reason (the quality believed to be essential to humanity).

The tradition of the saint as holy fool echoes the problematic nature of a human being so in tune with a divine presence that his actions no longer remain in the realm of common sense.[3] The format of Christopher's

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journey of enlightenment seems to heighten the sense that they are supposed to identify with the saint.

[2] Further discussion of the spacial dynamic linking the king and Christopher will be offered at a later point in this chapter.

[3] In his book discussing the role of the holy fool, Saward (1980: 1) offers the following definition: '"He is", writes Martin Buber, "a human being who, because of his

prayers would be clearly understood by the target audience of medieval Christians, but seems like nonsense to the pagans of Samón, especially as Christopher cannot yet speak their language.

To the king, the incomprehensible nature of Christopher's actions is as nothing in comparison with the greater folly of Christ's life and death, a sacrifice made for no material gain. Christopher's participation in a religion that takes a man who died as its human focal point makes no sense to the king, because for Dagnus the prolongation of life and furthering of worldly power are the only sensible aims. Christopher is alienated and insulted because his religion places him in the same social category as the mad; unpredictable, and therefore unknowable. The fear that Christopher inspires with his unfamiliar demeanour is heightened by the fact that the inhabitants of Samón believe him to be insane.

The links between trickery, magic, and Christopher as 'encantador' are also displayed in the passage where Nicea and Aquilina are converted: '¡E vos ya sodes engañadas!' (*EH*, fol. 193[ra]). Christianity here is likened to witchcraft, and supernatural powers are attributed to the saint. True, the miracles that occur are indeed supernatural, yet they are a direct result of Christopher's faith, not his art. He is a carrier of divine grace, able to make miracles happen only if they coincide with divine will. However, this power over nature, to disturb social order, is frightening to those who are not Christians, because it is indeed supernatural in essence.

The fear that Christopher inspires stems from his alien nature. He is different in mental process, in spiritual action, in physical appearance, and capabilities. His very difference casts him as a threatening contrast to the people of Samón; so threatening that they send two hundred soldiers for him alone. Their intolerance of difference culminates in his martyrdom.

Fear, Taboo, and the Cross

The types of fear introduced so far have been relevant to appearance and action, an immediate presence by which the onlooker feels threatened. However, Christopher's legend also explores fear in a deeper way; fear that is linked to language and voice. At the beginning of each account, he stays with a prince who crosses himself when he hears the devil mentioned. When asked the reason for this, the prince is unwilling to speak of the matter:

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undamaged direct relationship with God, has quitted the rules and regulations of the social order, though he continues to participate in the life of his fellow men".'

> Non ge lo queriendo dezir, díxol *Christó*val: 'Señor, sy non me lo dizes, non fincaré más contigo.' E pero el rey como a fuerça díxogelo cómo era el diablo mala cosa, e por esto dixo: 'A la ora que oý nonbrar el diablo, fago esta señal, temiendo que me non faga mal.' (*M*, Paragraph 2, fol. 53ra)

The king considers the very name of the devil to be taboo, because it invokes the person. The name is a synecdoche for the power and full presence of the devil. The devil in turn refuses to name Christ, the person he fears. Names invoke, and fear causes the frightened person to lose their ability to speak. Voice is consequently fundamental to the discussion of power, because where there is voice, language, and naming, there is also strength to challenge the power invoked by a name.

The fear of speaking the devil's name causes Christopher to leave the king because he equates the inability to break the taboo – the ability to name – with a loss of power. Seeking the devil as master is the next logical step, as his name alone inspires terror in the prince. However, unspoken communication on a purely symbolic level is enough to frighten the devil:

> Fallaron una cruz en la carrera en una encruzijada. E luego que la vio, el diablo luego ovo muy grant miedo e fuyó e dexó la carrera, e troxó Christóval a un desierto mucho áspero. E viéndolo Christóval maravillóse mucho, e preguntóle al diablo que por qué oviera tan grant miedo [...], e el diablo non ge lo quería dezir. E díxole Christóval: 'Si me lo non dizes, luego me parto de ti.' E por ende el diablo díxogelo diziendo: 'Dígote que un omne que dixieron Jhesu Christo fue puesto en la cruz. E por ende quando la veo, he grant miedo dél e espántome e fuyo, *ca por quanto él fue crucificado en la cruz, por ende perdí yo el poder que avía.*' (*EH*, fol. 191ra, my emphasis)

The cross in the road serves as a reminder of Christ's history, and marks out the direct relationship between Christ's power and the devil's loss of power. It is a symbol, but takes on its own meaning independent of Christ.

The cross in its function as a symbol expresses three important features of the legend. The first is the fact that it physically represents God, not as a simple reminder to the Devil, but as a repository of divine power. The memory causes him to flee from it; it simultaneously represents and

possesses strength, despite the absence of the true possessor of the power. The association with Christ is powerful enough to raise the cross to a status of action. David I. Kertzer (1988: 15) makes this point:

> No organization – whether the Ku Klux Klan or General Motors – can exist without symbolic representation, for organizations can be "seen" only through their associated symbols.

Christianity can only be seen in terms of the power of its symbols, and this account shows that they are strong enough to act as deputies for the authority they represent. However, Kertzer's statement alludes to the second feature of the legend. If organisations can be perceived only via their symbols, Christopher cannot see Christ until he has understood Christianity. He functions on a level of symbols, fighting to evaluate their messages and power, until he is granted enough understanding to meet the figure represented by them. By this logic, it is possible to read the river episode as one recounting Christopher's baptism into his new faith, where he finally grasps the meaning of the religion and its symbolic language, rendered in the narrative as a literal meeting between Christ and his new servant.

The third feature of the cross concerns the position and meaning of the symbol. It stands at a crossroads in a large expanse of empty land, either offering information about its location, or indicating the direction of other destinations. It is both an end in itself, and a means to reach further places. The structure of Christopher's legend reflects this, in that his encounter with Christ marks his arrival at the chosen destination of an active Christian faith, but also points in the direction of mission and martyrdom.

Cross symbolism in the writings of the early Syriac Fathers elaborated upon the notion of the cross as turning point, but often it was employed as a motif of enlightenment. Cyril Aphrem Karim (2004: 3) reminds the reader that the cross is the New Testament incarnation of the Tree of Knowledge, from which Adam and Eve ate an apple that caused the fall of mankind. The tree, or Wood, as it the Syriac Fathers term it, inherently contains the greatest power of life, but its interaction with Adam and Eve causes them to become mortals, subject to death. On the other hand, the cross contains the greatest power of death, but its interaction with Christ caused the human race to be redeemed. The tree offers knowledge and enlightenment. The cross offers freedom in the form of redemption and eternal life after death. Christopher follows this pattern, seeking first the enlightenment of

Christianity, and then its redemption. The cross, positioned early in the narrative, is a reminder to the reader of this bipartite aim, and continues to stand as a memorial of Christopher's rejection of the devil as his master.

Referring back to the citation from *EH* on page 4, the section in italics marks a sentence unique to this manuscript. The addition is crucial to the discussion of power, because it demonstrates the dynamic upon which the Christian faith is built, explaining that the devil lost his authority as a direct result of Christ's crucifixion and sacrifice. The devil's weakening causes fright even when faced with the mere symbol of this event, rather than the person who inherited the power. Just as the king was afraid to speak the devil's name for fear of invoking him, the devil is scared of approaching the symbol of Christ. To Christopher, these fears are signs of weakness rather than appropriate caution or awe of powerful people. Fear limits the freedom of people's actions – the king is forced to make the sign of the cross, the devil is compelled to flee – and therefore signifies a loss of power.

Voice, Power, Miracles, and Other Modes of Communication

Fear limits the use of the voice, so Christopher's character can be measured by his use of it, thus gauging his response to fear. In the first half of the legend, until the river episode, Christopher uses his voice chiefly to discuss and to threaten. He articulates the expectations he has of his master, and asks his lords to explain the things that he does not understand. In this role he is the mouthpiece of the listener, asking the questions the reader has already formed. His willingness to discuss problematic subjects makes the narrative dialogic in places, of an expository nature. However, he also uses his voice to threaten, showing the degree of power he has over his masters. He menaces them with the withdrawal of his company if they refuse to explain their fears. The technique of the threat is later used by the king against Christopher, but is rendered useless because of the saint's disregard of earthly punishment.

As Christopher's transformation unfolds, his voice lapses into silence when not educating others about Christianity, or asking questions. He gains the use of the language of Samón through grace, ensuring that his words come from Christ, and his entire ability to speak. His words become fewer and more pointed, because despite the withering vocal attack on the king, Christopher is a mouthpiece for Christianity as much by active example as by vocal exposition of the faith. His prayers are not reported in direct

speech, leaving a sense of mystique to the private intimacy of supplication and adoration. In a way, the voice becomes a tool of the earlier Christopher, a tool that is used less frequently when the deeper communication of prayer is employed.

Whilst the saint's voice is used less regularly, it is a reminder that the voice has an extreme effect on identity. Earlier I argued that the conversation between Dagnus and Christopher helped construct the other's identity, because each lists the other's attributes in the second person. However, the situation is more complex: they simultaneously construct and destroy the identities of the other in this episode. By using negative characteristics, the characters try to destroy each other's importance. The king attempts to reduce Christopher to an animal, but this strategy fails. Animals were classed as lower than human beings because they did not have the gift of reason, and Christopher parries the comparison with beasts with the self-evident use of rational speech. The king also accuses Christopher of madness and magic, which is later proved by miracles to be the work of the divine through Christopher, not insanity or sorcery. Conversely, Christopher reduces Dagnus to 'muerte del mundo' (Paragraph 10), an annihilation of life and identity. He also despises his company – the devil – and states that his actions are futile (his men make idols that are not true gods). Ironically, Christopher was once the devil's companion, but this does not weaken the attack on each aspect of Dagnus' world: his identity, his social circle, and his actions. Christopher uses his voice as a method of gaining power over the king, by speaking the truth about him that previously lay taboo, and by speaking the truth where Dagnus is limited to lies.

Miracles are a further method of communication. Where Christopher is accused of madness and sorcery, the accounts explain the supernatural events (such as the second flowering of his staff) as results of his role as conduit of divine grace. Miracles are both narrative devices, and imagery of the underlying theology to the text. In other words, they provide proof at the end of each episode of supernatural occurrences (such as the safe passage across the river, the acquisition of language, and the cure of the king's blindness) in order to emphasise the veracity of the preceding episode, and justify it. They also represent the fruitfulness of Christopher's faith as it blossoms after an encounter with Christ, and the productive, positive results of his martyrdom. Miracles are signs of wholesomeness, joy, and fruition in a landscape of wilderness and loneliness. The first instance is the blooming staff. This example demonstrates a change in the physical panorama,

furnishing it with life and fruit, and reflects the shift in the theological landscape, which now directs itself towards martyrdom, the spiritual fruit of Christopher's faith. The miracles are silent and visual by nature, but they communicate a crowning justification of the previous narrative phase, the salubrious essence of the saint's development, and a signpost to the next phase of development.

Seeking Power: Attraction

At the beginning of the narrative, Christopher is motivated by the search for the perfect prince:

> E estando con un rey de Canturia, vino a coraçón de yr buscar el mayor príncipe que en el mundo podiese fallar, para se venir a morar con él. E por ende vino a un rey que era de grant fama que en el mundo non avía tan grant príncipe. E viéndolo el roy, rescebiólo de muy buen grado, e fincó con él en su corte. (*EK*, Paragraph 1, fol. 126^{vc})

The use of the expression 'vino a coraçón' shows how deeply this desire is grafted into Christopher's personality. The idea strikes him quickly and physically, as shown by the preterite, but becomes an initiating factor and guide of the narrative's action.

The criteria that Christopher sets for the perfect prince are twofold. Firstly, he wants the best that the world has to offer; secondly, the prince's reputation should be second to none. These qualities illustrate the saint's interest in materialism, image, reputation, and the limits of human society. The real prince attains this level, combining nobility, shown in the courteous method of welcoming Christopher to his court, and attractiveness, demonstrated by the good reputation he maintains. The management of the king's good name shows great social awareness and resourcefulness, and his royal status adds a dimension of hierarchy. This king is the very best that society has to offer, yet he is rejected because he fears the devil, and therefore has a weakness.

Despite the Christian prince's role as representative of the pinnacle of material achievement, there is a case for reading the character of Dagnus as the true representative of worldly power and wealth. Christopher wishes to serve, not gain riches, and when he becomes a Christian he forgoes any desire for the joys of the world: money, command of resources, or sexual

power. The pagan king, on the other hand, represents all of these qualities. Although he has the power to sentence Christopher to torture and death, the values his character personifies represent the vanity and limit of earthly treasures, when compared to Christopher's enduringly sacred name. The saint is effective even after death, because his blood cures blindness. The king can no longer have an effect after death, because his riches mean nothing without their owner. The audience participates in ridiculing his vain hopes by responding with laughter when Christopher's appearance frightens him so much that he falls from him throne: 'E veyéndolo el rey, espantósse dél e cayó luego de su silla' (*F*, Paragraph 10, fol. 92^{rb}). The scene may be comic, but any illusion of power governed by a sense of fear is dispelled in the act of laughing and viewing the king as ridiculous rather than terrible.

However, the fall has serious consequences for Dagnus: the action represents his loss of control, and as mouthpiece for paganism, Christianity's victory over the values he represents.[4] Dagnus' uncontrollable downward movement in space highlights the parallels between his state and Christopher's, but there the comparison ends. Whilst the latter willingly falls to his knees in prayer and martyrdom, the former is thrown to his face in an undignified manner, stripped of his authority. The power he holds is proved limited in comparison to Christopher's, and in refusing to obey Dagnus' orders, the saint maintains his spiritual and mental freedom (despite surrendering his physical liberty to prison).

It is possible to argue that the true power exposed in Christopher's legend is freedom from terror, especially that of death. Unafraid of the king's might, he is able to undergo his martyrdom without pain. Nicea and Aquilina are attracted by this power as manifested in his face, and decide to imitate his faith. As they enter the temple, having made Dagnus believe they wish to sacrifice to the gods, their actions are symbolic of freedom, crushing the oppressors of their spiritual restrictions:

> Deciñieron sus cintas e atáron*l*as a los cuellos de los dioses, e traxiéronlos a t*ie*rra e q*ue*brantáron*l*os e fiziéron*l*os polvos. E dixieron a los q*ue* ý estava*n*: 'Yd e llamad los físicos q*ue* sanen v*ues*tros dioses.' (*EH*, Paragraph 12, fol. 193^{rb})

[4] See the discussion of Dagnus and Synagogue at the end of this chapter, and note 9.

They remove their belts or sashes and use them to pull down the idols, suggesting that their belts are metaphorical social and spiritual chains by which they were imprisoned. [5] They are prostitutes sent to seduce Christopher in return for riches, dependent on money, yet after conversion they are granted a measure of liberty of action for which they relinquish their claim on worldly goods. Christopher, in rejecting their advances and introducing them to a different spiritual dimension, enables them to transcend their social role as prostitutes and pagans. They are re-identified as virgins despite their purely sexual occupation before their conversion; all manuscripts call Aquilina a 'virgen' at the moment of her death.[6] They are

[5] Two other key figures in Spanish medieval literature have an interesting relationship with their girdles. The first is an example from hagiography: the princess whom Saint George rescues from the dragon. 'E dixo luego Sant George a la infante: "Señora, tomat la *vues*tra cinta e atátgela al cuello, e no*n* dubdedes en ni*n*guna cosa fija." E ella fízolo así. E el dragó*n* yva con ellos e en pos ellos ta*n* ma*n*so como cordero' (Beresford 2005: 52). Here, the princess is able to tame a manifestation of sin - the dragon, whereas in Christopher's legend it is the idols - with her girdle, ironically leaving her garments looser than before, emphasising the body beneath it. She sacrifices her sash for the sacred benefit of the threatened town, but the equation of undressing, and subjugating a wild creature to her will, has erotic overtones. Nicea and Aquilina follow the same pattern, in that they repent their former sexual activity and reclaim their spiritual virginity by ridding the temple of idols, yet become eroticised figures in the process. The second character is Melibea from *La Celestina* (Rojas 1970). Both Severin (1997) and Deyermond (1977) comment on the link between the 'cordón' and the disintegration of Melibea's chastity and self. Although here the girdle is unquestionably a thematic device linked to the devil, it is a motif of the powers of liberty. 'Melibea later admits: "En mi cordón le llevaste envuelta la posesión de mi libertad" (X, 160)' (Deyermond 1977: 8). In relinquishing their girdles, each of the female characters surrenders a part of themselves - and arguably their femininity - for a higher cause, be it Christianity or love. The image is simultaneously one of hunting and trapping, of power of life or death over the hunted. Each girdle catches something else by the neck, empowering the woman and freeing her from an oppressor, yet each woman is forced to sacrifice a part of their femininity in order to gain power.

[6] In hagiography, virginity sometimes appears to be a mental rather than a physical state. Of course, in the case of virgin martyrs legends (such as Agatha or Lucy), the young girls specifically deny a suitor marriage in order to preserve their bodily virginity intact, thus reflecting the purity of their soul in chaste flesh. However, in the cases of prostitute saints, such as Mary of Egypt, Thaïs or Pelagia, the women are granted sanctity despite their former actions and the clear loss of their virginity. Coon (1997: 82) offers a commentary on the life of Pelagia, saying that the severe seclusion the saint imposes upon herself gives her the means to move her Biblical archetype from the sinful Eve to the immaculate Mary, restoring her spiritual virginity. Karras (1996) comments that the prostitute saint was a popular theme because it showed the generous, compassionate nature of Christian redemption. Most relevant to the discussion of Nicea and Aquilina is Ward's comment: 'The idea that a monk can "keep" a virginity of body by his own prudent behaviour is here shown to be facile. "Virginity", they say in this tradition, "is

granted the mental and physical freedom to denounce the idols, an unthinkable act for a pagan. Nicea and Aquilina gain freedom from terror, and freedom from consideration of worldly treasures in return for martyrdom and eternal life in paradise.

Seeking Power: Finding the Unexpected

The type of power found in the legend of Christopher is not based in this world, but is dependent on Christian faith. Moreover, it is divinely granted to both the soul and the body, as the soul is given rest in paradise and the saint is remembered on earth as a lasting conduit of grace, his relics becoming the focal point for miracles. Power is often displayed in seemingly paradoxical ways, at odds with the manifestation the characters and readers may expect.

Christianity is a religion built on paradoxes, attempting to establish a god for whom even the impossible is possible: life in death, birth by virginity, leadership in service. The legend of Christopher follows this pattern of unexpected reversals in order to preach the greatness of the Christian God. When Christopher first searches for a master, he looks for the greatest king in the world; he and the reader expect majesty, power, and glory. In the meeting with Christ at the river, Christ is not a king with an entourage, but a lone child: 'falló un niño cerca la ribera, e rogól muy afincadamente quel pasase' (*EK*, Paragraph 6, fol. 127^{rb}). However, readers later realise that this child is Christ, 'aquel que crió todo el mundo' (*EK*, Paragraph 7, fol. 127^{vc}). This child is a physical manifestation of the creative power, a categorical authority, yet he is also a child unable to cross a river without Christopher's help. He purposefully presents himself in his way in order to bring about enlightenment, showing Christopher that the master can appear to be weak when he is not.

Christ's first distinguishing feature is not a crown or army, but is something more intimate: his voice. Christopher is called three times when at rest (at night according to *EH*, suggesting darkness and confusion) but Christ is invisible to him for the first two calls, echoing his false starts serving the two previous masters. Once more, voice has the power to activate his faith. The word 'vocation' comes from the Latin meaning

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restored by tears", and these stories show in fact it is also created by tears' (1987: 102). Aquilina's virginity is restored by her faith and her actions in the temple. The martyrdom of the two prostitutes recompenses their earlier sins, and both return to a state of Edenic virtue.

'calling', and this calling is literal in Christopher's case. The voice has special power to identify him and to define the task of carrying him across the river.[7]

Christopher reflects Christ's appearance of weakness by allowing the soldiers to put him in chains – a humiliating and uncomfortable experience. However, this acceptance of suffering and God's will strengthens his faith and his resolve. He is a better example of opposition to non-Christian beliefs precisely because there is no violence involved. Any violence on the part of the saint would negate the doctrines of love and sacrifice, and he finally wins over the king by offering his blood as a cure for his blindness – effectively his life for the king's conversion. Dagnus attempts to kill Christopher with arrows, and this attempt to suppress his existence backfires by wounding the king. By appearing weak, Christian love transcends violent action, refusing to engage with it under any circumstances. The saint is impervious to suffering pain inflicted in acts of brutality, and refuses to use violence against others. However, the greatest paradox of strength in apparent weakness lies at the heart of the Christian belief in life in death.

The human body is the battleground for these miraculous paradoxes (life in death, strength in weakness, birth through virginity). Medieval hagiography is greatly concerned with the treatment of the body. Its annihilation in the *passio* (account of martyrdom) was considered directly correspondent to the glory of the soul. As the 'corteza' of the body was tortured, mutilated, and broken, the outward proof of decay and mortality was symbolic to Christian eyes of proof of the soul's beauty and refinement, the 'meollo'.

The displays of torture included in Christopher's legend are of three types: public humiliation, physical torture, and private mental torture. For example, Christopher's body is humiliated by wearing chains and by being imprisoned. The arrows that are shot to pierce his body can be seen as images pertaining to penetration and rape, a degrading spectacle, although none penetrate his body. He is subjected to various forms of physical violence, including burning and beating, as well as the eventual decapitation. In addition to this, Dagnus tries to add mental torture in the form of temptation, knowing that if he succumbs to the girls' advances, the saint would be psychologically weakened. In endeavouring to create a mental

[7] In *EH*, the voice does not call Christopher by name.

aspect to Christopher's ordeal, Dagnus approaches an understanding of the Christian value of the soul, despite his efforts failing, and resulting in the destruction of his own idols.

Christopher and the other martyrs die from their physical injuries, their souls intact, and this is the heart of the paradox concerning their power. Despite Dagnus' statement that it is a 'mala muerte', the Christians believe that martyrdom is the best death they could have. The soldiers who are beheaded receive no torture, but are put to death immediately. They form the lowest rank of martyr because they die for confessing their faith. Their lives are not divinely prolonged for torture, as are those of Nicea and Aquilina. More than just confessing their faith, these women also deny the pagan idols and destroy them publicly in the temple, actively demonstrating their beliefs. For this, Aquilina is torn apart by a stone, and goes to paradise, while Nicea is burned as an offering, or like a witch (echoing Christopher's links to sorcery), and then beheaded when the flames do not harm her. Pain is more severe for these women than it was for the soldiers because the narrative details their developed faith more than that of the men.

Christopher's physical torture, his reward for actively preaching, praying, and performing miracles, takes the shape of a parody of Christ's suffering and crucifixion. This pain is supposed to be a degrading spectacle but in fact through it Christopher is able to emulate Christ, fulfilling the deepest principles of *imitatio Christi*.[8] Pain and suffering lend him power, and divine intervention permits him to withstand torture. His body is made holy by its subjugation, as proved by the cure of Dagnus' blindness. The physical power of the flesh in its form of motility and strength is relinquished for a more lasting ability to perform miracles, a true life after death.

Power and Perception

Power in the legend of Saint Christopher, and more widely in hagiography, is expressed not by displays of might and earthly wealth or ability, but of spiritual or divine strength underneath an appearance of

[8] *Imitatio Christi* is the overriding rule of holy behaviour. Those aspiring to sanctity subsume themselves into a complete emulation of Christ's death, thereby sharing in his sacrifice. In imitating Christ they do two things: firstly, they live a holy life and guarantee a place in heaven; secondly, they present a re-enactment of Christ's life in order to summon or strengthen faith in others. The principles were distilled in Thomas à Kempis' work *De imitatione Christi* from the early fifteenth century. According to Burton, 'the *Imitation* clearly maps for us the benefits of being a disciple of Christ [...] We see an uncompromising call to discipleship' (1998: 20-21).

weakness or poverty. After two false starts previous to any instruction in Christianity, Christopher is able to use his insight to recognise the strength in things that appear to be weak. The ability to recognise the potential or meaning beneath a contradictory appearance is key to the texts. Dagnus demonstrates his difficulty in understanding the strength of Christianity in various ways. Firstly, he cannot see the human being beneath the gigantic, frightening exterior that Christopher presents. Secondly, he underestimates the spiritual depth of conviction of the Christian converts. Thirdly, he misjudges the effects of torture and receives for his pains an arrow in the eye:

> E asmando el rey que era todo asaetado ya e porfazando dél, a desora vino una saeta del ayre e firió al rey en el ojo, e mano a mano fue luego ciego. (*M*, Paragraph 14, fol. 54^{vd})

The king's loss of an eye is a metaphor for his inability to judge people and actions correctly and understand their significance. At the same time, a parallel is established between faith and penetration. Using the technique of *mundus inversus*, the account shows that Dagnus would have Christopher penetrate Aquilina and Nicea in order to weaken his faith, but his failure to achieve this allows Christopher indirectly to penetrate him with an arrow. The consequence is that Dagnus weakens in faith, not Christopher. The saint is able to choose between penetrating another's body, which he does not do, and penetrating another's eye, which can be read as a metaphor for Dagnus' path to enlightenment and conversion.

When he recovers his sight this is the scene:

> E el rey tomó un poco de la su sangre, e púsolo sobre su ojo en el nonbre de Dios e de Sant *Christó*val. Luego fue sano. Estonce el rey atovo e mandó que sy alguno blassfemase de Jhesu *Christo* e de *Christó*val, que luego moriese por ello. (*EK*, Paragraph 15, fol. 128^{vc})

The discourse of healing and blindness echoes that of Christ and the man who had been blind since birth (John 9: 1-41). In this account, Christ heals a blind man by spitting on the ground and making mud to rub on the man's eyes, thus curing him. The man becomes a convert to Christianity and proves his belief in verse 38. The following verse reads: 'Jesus said, "I came

to this world to judge, so that the blind should see and those who see should become blind.' Dagnus follows this model in reverse, by becoming blind, and later having his sight returned when he understands the significance of Christopher's words and actions. He immediately changes with this event, and orders all beneath his jurisdiction to respect Christ and Christopher. His physical blindness is removed when the root of his spiritual blindness is eliminated.

The blind Dagnus also shares some characteristics with the figure of Synagogue, an artistic rendering of Judaism in medieval Christian iconography. Hook and Deyermond state:

> En el arte y en la escultura, Synagoga, cuyos ojos vendados significan la ceguedad voluntaria ante la revelación divina, se encuentra por todas partes. (1983: 277)

Her blindness refers to the fact that Judaism cannot comprehend the Christian view of the Old Testament, which interprets it typologically.[9] They prefigure the stories that are to be rewritten in the New Testament. Dagnus, although not Jewish, refuses to understand the significance of the Christian viewpoint, and is forced to accept blindness as a consequence of this until he converts.

Spiritual power hides beneath a disguise of bodily weakness, but in the end it is revealed to grant authority to Christians. Joyce Tally Lionarons (2002: 170) terms Dagnus' opposition to Christopher and treatment of him a 'category crisis', or failure to identify his meaning and message. The power to recognise the truth in objects and people is fundamental to Christopher's legend. This is epitomised in the scene where Nicea and Aquilina are in the temple and say: 'Llamad a los físicos que sanen a los vuestros dioses' (*F*, Paragraph 12, fol. 92^{vd}). Recognising that the idols are there because men made them for their own aims, they call for doctors to heal them, just as doctors would heal men. The idols hold no meaning or spiritual in themselves; the implication is that the men who made them went against Christian principles in their construction, making empty vessels without

[9] Hook and Deyermond's argument centres on the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, which appears to end abruptly in a scene of argument between the rabbis in Herod's palace. The work characterises its non-Christian characters with confusion, and positions them as objects of humour. The same pairing of literary topoi, as seen in the episode of Dagnus' fall from his throne, and his consequent blindness, is mirrored in Christopher's narrative.

understanding the nature of worship. Christopher has given the women an insight, and this heightened sense of perception allows them to grasp the message of Christianity and distinguish truth.

Conclusion

The character of Christopher is the distillation of the message of power in perception. His dubious appearance and initial character leave the reader wondering how he qualifies to be a saint. Here are none of the stereotypical characteristics such as faith ingrained since before birth, physical beauty, or noble rank. He sits in the category of saints who attain sanctity as their narratives unfold, such as Paul, Longinus, and the prostitute saints. However, Christopher is an extreme example of this, physically a monster in some traditions, yet the narrative charts his transformation into a saint and martyr.[10] His power is gained from a slowly developed sense of insight, a dependence on his God that permits him the ability to withstand pressure, and frees him from fear. According to the medieval Spanish legend of Christopher, power is dependent not on earthly treasures of abilities, but most truly manifested by freedom from fear, horror, and repression, and the full use of the saint's voice, granted by grace.

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[10] Many of the conversion and repentance narratives reflect the protagonist's spiritual change in his or her body, such as Mary of Egypt, whose flesh is unrecognisably burnt by the sun, or Paul, who becomes temporarily blind. However, Christopher's narrative not only follows the paradigm of the body's annihilation in martyrdom or severe penance, it shows it literally. Whereas Mary's beautiful body hid a corrupt soul, which after conversion transformed into a conjunction of a putrid body and a spotless soul, Christopher's physical abnormalities are permanent. Rather than reflecting the opposite state of his soul, they are expressions of his alien nature, as well as dramatic characteristics that would catch the imagination of the audience or reader.

Appendix: Edited Texts

Editorial Procedure

This appendix offers two synoptic editions and one critical edition of the legend of Saint Christopher. The aim has been to produce a legible, accessible set of texts without compromising academic integrity. The Escorial manuscripts, h-I-14 and K-II-12, are referred to as *EH* and *EK* respectively, while Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo 8 is known as *M*, and Fundación Lázaro Galdiano 419 is *F*. It was possible to amalgamate the latter two into a critical edition, but *EH* and *EK* differ sufficiently to be presented as separate, synoptic editions.

Scribal errors have been emended and noted in the critical apparatus, along with problematic forms and variants. Initial and final double *rr* and *ss* have been transcribed as *r* and *s*, while initial *R-* is represented (unless a capital) as *r-*. Internal double letters have been preserved to maintain syllabic values. The interchangeable use of *l-* and *ll-*, *b* and *v*, and *i* and *y* is retained. The cedilla marks a soft *c*, and is kept only before *a*, *o* and *u*. The letters *u* and *v*, and *i* and *j* are used interchangeably throughout the manuscripts, so I have transcribed them as *u* or *i* where a vocalic value is implied, and *v* or *j* where consonantal.

Abbreviations denoted by tildes have been expanded. *Italic script* signifies a letter or group of letters not fully written out in the text, and have been expanded as far as possible by following written-out examples. Ihu Xo has been transcribed as Jhesu *Christo*, and xp°ual (or a variant) as *Christóval*. The word *cruz* when in *italics* (*M* only) denotes that in the manuscript the cross is represented pictorially. The Tironian sign has been transcribed as *e* rather than *et* to avoid Latinism, and discrepancies between the forms *et* and *e* have been regularised to *e*, but when this occurs within longer words the changes have been noted (such as *etstonce*, transcribed as *estonce*).

Tildes above the words *como*, *mucho* and *un* have been ignored because there are no examples of expansion to longer forms in the texts. Spurious dots (particularly over the letter *y* in all manuscripts) have been ignored.

Word division follows modern practice, using the symbol | to mark enjambement straddling two columns (relevant only to *F* and *M*). The majority of contractions have been left in the form in which they appear in the manuscript, such as *dél* (*de él*), *antel* (*ante el*), *nol* (*no lo*) and *díxol* (*díxole*), and accented where necessary according to modern Spanish usage. Unusual contractions, such as *sel* (*sé lo*) in *EK*, have been expanded and noted.

I have added accents and tildes following the principles of modern Spanish grammar. I transcribed *n* with a tilde as *ñ* rather than the obsolete *nn*. Archaic words have been accented where necessary, such as *dó*, *só*, *vó*, and *á* to distinguish between verbs and interrogative pronouns, and prepositions. Similarly, *aý* (*EH* only) and *ý* have been accented to differentiate them from the exclamation *ay*. The archaic imperfect tense has been accented on the final *e*, such as *podié*, *sofrié*, *dizié* (See Penny 1991: 168, Resnick 1981: 94-95, and Menéndez Pidal 1958: 308-09). Verbs are also accented to maintain the correct emphasis where they append a pronoun. *Fuése* represents the preterite third person singular of *ser* or *ir* to distinguish it from the unaccented subjunctive form.

Names have been accented according to common sense and knowledge of Latin (for example, *Réprobo*). In *M*, the name *Dapno* has a tilde, which I have transcribed as *Dapño*. Variations on forms of names have been left as they appear in the manuscript, or offered in the critical apparatus.

All paragraph breaks, punctuation, and speech marks are editorial. Most full stops in the manuscripts are marked by paragraph signs, but some complex or long sentences have been broken down. Spurious sentence breaks have been eliminated.

Specifically pertaining to the critical edition of *M* and *F*, I take the former as base text because it displays a higher frequency of older verb forms and spelling, as well as *Philobiblon*'s affirmation that it is an older text (Faulhaber 1997/2006). Both *M* and *F* add paragraphs 8a-8c to the material presented in the Escorial manuscripts, but *M* also includes an extensive appendix in Latin (Paragraphs 16-24). This is marked by the letter *ñ* in the left margin where the extra text begins. M's tendency to shorten pronouns added to verbs (for example, *díxol*), has been kept without noting the fuller form in *F* (*díxole*), but where pronouns differ, such as *lo* and *le*, *F* has been offered as a variant.

Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
MS h-I-14, fols. 190^{rb}-93^{vd} (*EH*)

Capítulo LXXVIII. De la vida de Sant *Christó*val

1. Sant *Christó*val era de t*ie*rra de Canahám, e vínole a coraçón q*ue* buscase el mayor p*rí*ncipe q*ue* avía en el mundo, e q*ue* verrnía a morar con él. E en este t*ie*mpo morava con un rey de Canahám. E Sant *Christó*val era grande de cuerpo e avía la su cara espantable mucho, e avía en luengo doze cobdos. E por ende vino a un grant rey q*ue* avía muy grant fama q*ue* en el mundo todo [fol. 190^{vc}] no*n* avía tan grant p*rí*ncipe. E el rey q*ua*ndo lo vio, rescibióle muy bien, e fincó con él en su corte e andava con él.

2. E una vegada un juglar cantava un cantar antel rey en q*ue* no*n*brava muchas vezes al diablo. El rey era *christi*ano, e luego q*ue* nonbrava el juglar al diablo, el rey luego se santiguava de q*ue* lo veýa nonbrar. E viendo esto, *Christó*val maravillóse mucho por q*ué* fazía esto el rey, e q*ué* q*ue*ría dezir aq*ue*lla señal. E preguntó al rey q*ue* q*ué* significava aq*ue*llo, e el rey no*n* ge lo q*ue*ría dezir. E díxole *Christó*val: 'Si no*n* me lo dizes, no*n* fincaré más contigo.' E por ende el rey díxogelo como a fuerça, e díxole: 'Cada ora q*ue* oyo nonbrar al diablo luego fago esta señal, temiéndome q*ue* me no*n* faga mal, e por q*ue* el diablo no*n* me enpezca.' E díxole *Christó*val: 'Si tú miedo [fol. 190^{vd}] has al diablo, luego ha más poder q*ue* tú, e es mejor e más poderoso q*ue* tú. E por ende yo he p*er*dido mi t*ie*mpo contigo cuydando q*ue* tú eras el mayor e más poderoso de todo el mundo. E por ende espídome de ti agora, e q*uie*ro yr buscar al diablo, e tomarlo por señor, e fazerme he su vasallo.'

3. E luego p*ar*tióse del rey e fue buscar al diablo. E yendo por un grant yermo, vio una grant conpaña de cavalleros, de los quales vino a él uno mucho espantable e muy cruel. E demandóle q*ue* dó yva. E respondióle Sant *Christó*val e díxole: 'Vó buscar al diablo, q*ue* sea mi señor.' E díxole el diablo: 'Yo só ésse q*ue* tú demandas e q*ue* tú buscas.' E gozándose Sant *Christó*val, fízole omenage e promissión p*ar*a sienpre jamás, e tomóle por su señor.

4. E yendo amos a dos en uno por unos yermos, fallaro*n* [fol. 191ra] una cruz en la carrera en una encruzijada. E luego q*ue* la vio, el diablo luego ovo muy grant miedo e fuyó e dexó la carrera, e troxó

*Christó*val a un desierto mucho áspero. E viéndolo *Christó*val maravillóse mucho, e preguntóle al diablo q*ue* por q*ué* oviera ta*n* grant miedo e q*ue* dexara la carrera e entrara por lugar áspero, e el diablo non ge lo q*uer*ía dezir. E díxole *Christó*val: 'Si me lo no*n* dizes, luego me parto de ti.' E por ende el diablo díxogelo diziendo: 'Dígote q*ue* un omn*e* q*ue* dixieron Jh*es*u *Christo* fue puesto en la cruz. E por ende q*uan*do la veo, he grant miedo dél e espántome e fuyo, ca por q*uan*to él fue crucificado en la cruz, por ende perdí yo el poder q*ue* avía.' E díxole *Christó*val: 'Pues este Jh*es*u *Christo* es más poderoso q*ue* tú, e pues q*ue* tú tanto le temes la su señal [fol. 191^{rb}] de la cruz, por ende en vano trabajé yo fasta agora, e aún no*n* fallé yo el mayor príncipe del mundo. E por ende deniego tu vasallage e tu señorío, e pártome de ti e q*uie*ro yr buscar a Jh*es*u *Christo*.'

5. E por ende andudo por todo el mundo buscando q*uié*n le mostrase a Jh*es*u *Christo*. E falló un hermitaño que le predicó de Jh*es*u *Christo*, e le demostró muy bien la su fe. E díxole el hermitaño: 'Este rey q*ue* tú deseas servir, éste es el servicio q*ue* él q*uie*re de ti. A ti conv*er*ná ayunar muy a menudo.' E díxole *Christó*val: 'En otra cosa le puedo yo mejor servir q*ue* en ayunar, q*ue* no*n* lo puedo yo fazer.' E díxole el hermitaño: 'Pues conviene q*ue* fagas oración.' E dixo *Christó*val: 'No*n* puedo, ca no*n* sé q*ué* servicio es, ni*n* lo puedo yo fazer.' E díxole el hermitaño: [fol. 191^{rc}] '¿Sabes tú el río q*ue* es en tal lugar q*ue* peligra*n* muchos de los q*ue* pasan por aý e mueren?' E díxole *Christó*val: 'Yo lo sé muy bien.' E díxole el hermitaño: 'Porq*ue* eres grande e de grant fuerça, si morases ý e pasases a todos los q*ue* q*uis*iesen pasar, plazería mucho a Jh*es*u *Christo* dello, a q*uie*n tú deseas servir, e allí te aparescerá.' E díxole *Christó*val: 'Este servicio te digo yo q*ue* puedo muy bien fazer, e prométote q*ue* lo faga esto muy bien.'

6. E después desto, fuése p*ar*a aq*uel* río e fizo ý una casa e traýa una p*ié*rtiga en la mano q*ue* lo sofría, e sofríase sobre ella en lugar de blago, e pasava a todos q*uan*tos q*uer*ían passar, e estudo allí grant t*ier*npo faziendo aq*uel*la obra. E una noche, él yaziendo en su casa, oyó una boz de un niño chico q*ue* llamava e dezía: [fol. 191^{vd}] '¡Pássame allá!' E *Christó*val salió apriessa, mas no*n* falló a ninguno. E tornándose a su casa, oyó otra vegada aq*uel*la mesma boz. E él salió apriessa, mas non falló nada, e tornóse otra vegada a su casa. E él, tornándose, llamó la tercera vegada. E él salió luego apriessa, e falló un niño en la ribera, e rogóle el niño muy afincadamente q*ue* le pasase. E *Christó*val

tomó el niño en los braços e su blago en la mano, e metióse en el río. E luego començó el agua a crescer poco a poco, e el niño pesava mucho como plomo. E quanto más crescía el agua, el niño más pesava, en manera que se vio en el río en grant estrechura e en grant priessa, en tal manera que avía grant miedo de perescer, mas saliendo a la orilla, puso el niño en tierra.

7. E dixo: 'Niño, pusísteme en grant peligro, [fol. 192ra] que atanto pesavas como si fuera todo el mundo que estudiera sobre mí, que non sufriera mayor trabajo nin mayor carga.' E díxole el niño: 'Christóval, non te maravilles, ca non tan solamente toviste todo el mundo sobre ti, mas aquel que crió todo el mundo troxiste sobre los tus ombros, ca yo só Jhesu Christo, el tu rey a quien tú serviste en este fecho. E por que creas que te digo verdat, quando pasares allende, fincarás el blago cerca de la tu casilla en tierra, e verás luego en él fojas e fruto.' E esto dicho, luego le desaparesció. E desque vino Sant Christóval e fincó su blago en tierra, levantóse de mañana e fallóle en guisa de palma, con fojas e con dátiles.

8. E después desto vino a la cibdat de Samón, de tierra de Lezcia, adó non [fol. 192rb] entendía el lenguaje de aquella tierra, e rogó a Dios que le diese entendimiento de aquella lengua. E demientra que estava rogando a Dios, los juezes dexáronlo, cuydando que era loco. E Sant Christóval ganó de Jhesu Christo lo que pidiera, e cubriendo su cara, vino al lugar de la lid e confortava los christianos en Jhesu Christo que martiriavan. E estonce un juez firióle en la cara. E Sant Christóval descubrió su cara e dixo: 'Si non porque só christiano, mas bengaría este mi tuerto.' E estonce Sant Christóval fincó su piértega en tierra e rogó a Dios que le floresciese por que convertiese el pueblo. E luego en punto que esto fue fecho, creyeron en Jhesu Christo ocho mill omnes.

9. E el rey de aquella tierra enbió por él dozientos cavalleros que le troxiesen antél, e falláronlo e non le osaron [fol. 192vc] dezir nada, e tornáronse para el rey e dixiéronle cómo le fallavan. E el rey enbió otra vegada otros tantos de cavalleros, e así como llegaron, echáronse con él en oración. E levantándose Christóval, díxoles: '¿Qué demandades?' E viendo ellos la su faz, dixiéronle: 'El rey nos enbió por ti, que te prendiésemos e te levásemos antél.' E díxoles Christóval: 'Nin ligado nin suelto, si yo quisiere, non me podredes allá levar.' E estonce dixieron ellos: 'Nos diremos al rey que non te fallamos.' E díxoles Christóval: 'Non así, mas yo yré convusco.'

10. E estonces convertiólos a la fe de Jhesu *Christo*, e fizo *que* le atasen las manos a çaga, e así *que* le levasen preso ante el rey. E viéndole, el rey fue muy espantado e cayó de su silla real. E desende, alçándole sus vasallos, preguntóle de su nonbre e de su tierra. E díxole [fol. 192vd] *Christó*val: 'Ante *que* me batizasen, dixiéronme Rénebro, e agora me dizen *Christó*val.' E díxole el rey: 'Tú tomeste nonbre muy loco de Jhesu *Christo* crucificado *que* non aprovecha a sí, nin podrá aprovechar a ti. Agora di, cananeo encantador, ¿por *qué* non sacrificas los nuestros dioses?' E díxole *Christó*val: 'Con derecho te dizen Decio, ca tú eres muerte del mundo, e conpañero del diablo, e los tus dioses omnes los fizieron con sus manos.' E díxole el rey: 'Tú fuste criado entre las bestias, e por ende non puedes fablar sinon cosas de bestias e lo *que* los omnes non saben. E por ende si agora quisieres sacrificar los mis dioses, rescibrás de mí grandes onrras. Si non, serás atormentado de muchas maneras.' E *Christó*val non queriendo sacrificar, mandóle el rey meter en la cárcel, e fizo degollar a aquellos cavalleros *que* él enbiara por *Christó*val por el nonbre [fol. 193ra] de Jhesu *Christo*.

11. E fizo con él encerrar dos niñas muy fermosas, e dizién a la una Nicea, e a la otra Aqu*i*lina, e prometióles muchos bienes si pudiesen fazer *que* peccase con ellas. E viéndolas *Christó*val, echóse luego en oración, mas las niñas faziénle fuerça firiéndole a palmadas e abraçándole. E levantándose *Christó*val, díxoles: '¿*Qué* demandades, o por *qué* entrastes acá?' Estonce ellas, viendo la claridat de la su cara, dixieron: '¡Santo de Dios, ave merced de nós por que podamos creer en aquel dios *que* tú predicas!'

12. E el rey, oyendo esto, fízolas traer ante sí e díxoles: '¡E vos ya sodes engañadas! Yo juro por los mis dioses *que* si non los sacrificades *que* morredes mala muerte.' E respondieron ellas: 'Si quisieres *que* sacrifiquemos, manda alinpiar las plaças e fazlos todos ayuntar en el tenplo.' E fecho todo esto, entraron [fol. 193rb] ellas en el tenplo e deciñieron sus cintas e atáronlas a los cuellos de los dioses, e traxiéronlos a tierra e quebrantáronlos e fiziéronlos polvos. E dixieron a los *que* ý estavan: 'Yd e llamad los físicos *que* sanen vuestros dioses.'

13. Estonces, por mandado del rey, colgaron a Aqu*i*lina e atáronle una grant piedra a los pies, e así la descoyuntaron todos sus mienbros. E muriendo así, esta virgen fuése para paraýso. E su hermana Nicea echáronla en el fuego, mas salió dende sin lisión, e luego fue descabesçada.

14. E después desto, levaron a *Christó*val ante el rey, e mandóle açotar con piértegas de fierro, e poner en su cabeça un yelmo de fierro caliente. E aun sobre esto, fizo fazer un escaño de fierro e ligar en él a *Christó*val, e mandóle [fol. 193^{vc}] encender echando en él pez, mas luego quebró el escaño en manera de madero flaco, e salió dende *Christó*val sano e sin lisión. E después mandóle ligar a una viga, e que le firiesen los cavalleros con saetas e con dardos, mas todas las saetas e los dardos estavan colgadas en el ayre e ninguno non le podié alcançar. E asmando el rey que era todo asaeteado, vino a desora una saeta del ayre e firió al rey en el ojo, e mano a mano fue ciego. E díxole *Christó*val: 'Cras he yo de morir, mas tú, cruel e malo, verás lodo de la mi sangre e untarás con ello el tu ojo, e luego serás sano.'

15. Estonces el rey mandóle degollar, e su oración fecha, degolláronle. E el rey tomó de la su sangre e púsola sobre su ojo, e dixo: 'En el nonbre de Dios e de Sant *Christó*val.' E luego fue sano. E estonces el rey mandó que si [fol. 193^{vd}] alguno blasfemase de Jhesu *Christo*, que luego le matasen.

Critical Apparatus

44] príncipe : príncinpe *EH.*
54] es : se es *EH.*
85] casilla : casilla [??] *EH.*
93] cubriendo : cubrendo *EH.*
118] dioses : dios *EH.*
119] dioses : dios *EH.*
123] dioses: dios *EH.*

Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
MS K-II-12, fols. 126^{vc}-28^{vc} (EK)

Capítulo de Sant *Christó*val

1. Sant *Christó*val fue de Cantahán, e era muy grande de cuerpo e la cara espantable, e avía en luengo XVI cobdos. E estando con un rey de Canturia, vino a coraçón de yr buscar el mayor príncipe que en el mundo podiese fallar, para se venir a morar con él. E por ende vino a un rey que era de grant fama que en el mundo non avía tan grant príncipe. E viéndolo el roy, rescebiólo de muy buen grado, e fincó con él en su corte.

2. E una vegada un juglar, cantando un cantar antel rey, nonbrava muchas vegadas al diablo. E era el rey *christ*iano, e por ende quando oyó así nonbrar, santiguóse luego. E viéndolo Sant *Christó*val, maravillóse mucho por qué fazía esto el rey, o qué quería dezir esta señal. E él, preguntando al rey desto, él non ge lo quería dezir. E díxol *Christó*val: 'Sy non me lo dizes, non estaré más contigo.' Por ende [fol. 126^{vd}] el rey como a fuerça óvogelo de dezir. E dixo: 'Cada ora que oyo nonbrar al diablo, me santiguo e fago esta señal por que non me faga mal.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Sy tú as miedo al diablo, pues él más poderoso es que non tú, e mayormente, pues que tanto le temes. E por ende yo perdí mi esperança cuydando que avía fallado el mayor señor e más poderoso del mundo, e por ende espídome de ti agora, e quiero yr buscar al diablo.'

3. E ya él yendo por un camino yermo, vio grand conpaña de cavalleros, de los quales vino a él uno muy cruel e muy espantable, e demandól dó yva. E respondiól Sant *Christó*val: 'Vó buscar al diablo.' Respondió aqueste cavallero: 'Yo só aqueste que tú demandas.' E gozándose *Christó*val, fíçol omenaje por sienpre, e tomól por su señor.

4. E yéndose amos en uno, fallaron una cruz fecha en la carrera camial, e luego que el diablo la vio, espantóse e fuxó. E dexando la carrera, aduxo a *Christó*val por un yermo muy áspero. E viéndolo *Christó*val maravillándose mucho, por ende preguntól: '¿Por qué oviste tan grant temor que dexeste la carrera llana e entreste [fol. 127ra] yrado a

andar por tan áspera carrera?' E él non ge lo queriendo mostrar, díxol *Christó*val: 'Sy non me lo dizes, luego me parto de ty.' E por ende el diablo a fuerça óvogelo a dezir. Dixo el diablo: 'Un omne que dixieron *Christo* fue puesto en la cruz. E quando la veo, he grant miedo e fuyo con muy grant espanto.' Díxol *Christó*val: 'Ese *Christo* es mayor que non tú, e más poderoso, pues que tanto temes la señal de la cruz. Por ende en vano trabajé fasta agora, e aún non fallé el mayor príncipe del mundo, por ende con gracia ca me parto de ty, e quiero yr a buscar a Jhesu *Christo*.'

5. E a cabo vino a un hermitaño que predicava de Jhesu *Christo*, e mostról muy bien la fe. E díxol el hermitaño: 'Este rey a quien tú deseas servir, éste es el servicio que él quiere. Ca te converná ayunar muy a menudo.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'En otra manera lo podré yo servir, ca esto nunca lo podría yo fazer.' E díxol el hermitaño otra vegada: 'Convenirte ha que fagas muchas oraciones.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Non sé qué es nin tal servicio. Nol puedo fazer.' E díxol el hermitaño: '¿Non sabes tú el río en que peligran muchos que pasan por ý e mueren?' Respondiól *Cristó*bal: [fol. 127^{rb}] 'Sélo.' E díxol el hermitaño: 'Porque eres grande e rezio de fuerça, sy estodieses ý cerca aquel río e pasases a todos quantos quisiesen pasar, plazería mucho a Jhesu *Christo*, aquel rey que tú deseas mucho servir, e espera que allí te aparescerá.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Este servicio puedo yo muy bien fazer.' E prometió quel serviría bien en esto.

6. Después desto fuése a aquel río e fízol ý una morada. Traxo ý una piértega para en que se sofrié en logar de blago en su mano en el agua. E pasava a quantos querían pasar. E pasando muchos días, e estando folgando en su casiella, oyó una boz de un niño que llamava e dezía: '*Christó*val, ¡pásame allá!' E *Christó*val salió apriesa, mas non falló a ninguno. E tornándose a su casilla, oyó otra vegada esa misma boz, e salió él apriesa, mas non falló a ninguno. E llamó la tercera vegada e salió otrosý, e falló un niño cerca la ribera, e rogól muy afincadamente quel pasase. E *Christó*val tomó el niño en los onbros, e su blago en el río, para pasar allende. E luego el agua del río crescié poco a poco, e el niño pesava mucho como plomo muy pesado. E quanto más yva adelante, tanto más crescié el agua, e el niño sienpre pesava más, en manera que *Christó*val víase en grant angostura, [fol. 127^{vc}] e aviendo

miedo de perescer. Enpero escapando malabés, puso el niño en la ribera.

7. Dixo: 'Niño, posísteme en grant peligro, tanto pesavas que sy toviera todo el mundo acuestas sobre mí, malabés sentiera mayor carga.' E dixo el niño: 'Non te maravilles, ca non tan solamente toviste todo el mundo sobre ti, mas aquél que crió todo el mundo toviste sobre tus onbros, e yo só Jhesu Christo, el tu rey a quien tú serviste en este fecho. E por que sepas que es verdat esto que yo te digo, quando pasares allende, fincarás el blago en tierra cerca de tu casilla, e verás luego en él flores e fructo.' E luego desaparesció. E veniendo Christóval, fincó su blago en tierra, e levantóse de mañana e fallól de manera de palma que feziera fojas e fructo.

8. Después desto vino a una cibdat que dezían Samón, de tierra de Luzia, e no entendiendo la lengua de aquella gente, rogó a Dios que le diese entendimiento de entender aquella lengua. E demientra que estava él rogando a Dios, los juezes, cuydando que era loco, dexáronle. E Christóval, después que ganó de Jhesu Christo lo que demandava, cobriendo su cara, vino al logar de la lid, e confortando los christianos en Jhesu Christo que martiriavan. [fol. 127^{vd}] Estonce un juez feriól en la faz, e descobriéndose Christóval, díxol: 'Sy non porque só christiano, vengaría este tuerto.' Estonce Sant Christóval fincó su piértiga en tierra, e rogó a Dios que floresciese por que convertiese aquel pueblo. E luego que fue esto fecho, creyeron en Jhesu Christo VIII mill omes.

9. E el rey enbió dozientos cavalleros que aduxiesen a Christóval, e ellos falláronle orando e non le osaron dezir nada. E tornándose para el rey, dixiéronle de cómo lo fallaron. E el rey enbió otra vegada otros tantos omes, e echáronse luego en oración con él. E levantóse Christóval e díxoles: '¿Qué demandades?' E viendo ellos su faz, dixieron: 'El rey nos enbía acá para que te presiesemos e te levemos a él.' Respondióles Christóval: 'Sy yo quisier, nin ligado nin suelto non me podedes levar a él.' E dixieron ellos: 'Dirémosnos al rey que te non fallamos.' E díxoles él: 'Non asý, mas yo yré conbusco.'

10. E desende convertiólos primero a la fe de Jhesu Christo. Después fizo quel ligasen las manos a çaga e quel levasen preso antel rey. E viéndol el rey, espantóse e cayó luego de su siella. Desende, alçáronlo sus vasallos, e [fol. 128ra] preguntól de su nonbre e de su tierra.

E díxol *Christó*val: 'Ante *que* me baptizase, dixiéron*me* Rebichón. E agora dízenme *Christó*val.' E díxol el rey: 'Tomeste nonbre del loco de Jhesu *Christo* crucificado *que* non aprovechó a sý, nin podrá aprovechar a ty. E agora di, canoneo encantador, ¿por *qué* non sacrificas a los nuestros dioses?' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Con derecho te llaman Dragón, ca tú eres muerte del mundo, e conpañero del diablo, e los tus dioses los omes los fazen con sus manos.' E díxol el rey: 'E tú fuste criado entre las bestias, e por ende non puedes fablar synon cosas de bestias e lo *que* los omes non saben. E sy agora quieres sacrificar a los dioses, rescibrás de mí grandes honrras. Sy non, sepas *que* serás atormentado por muchas maneras.' E non queriendo sacrificar, mandól meter en la cárcel. E fizo degollar a aquellos cavalleros *que* enbiara a *Christó*val, porque tomaran el nonbre de Jhesu *Christo*.

11. E fizo encerrar con *Christó*val dos niñas mui fermosas en la cárcel, e a la una dezían Nicea, e a la otra Aqu*i*lina, prometiéndoles mucho syl podiesen adozir a pecar con ellas. E viéndolo *Christó*val, echóse en oración, mas las niñas faziéndol [fol. 128^{rb}] fuerça, feríanle de las palmas, abraçándol. Levantóse e díxoles: '¿*Qué* demandades, o por *qué* entrastes acá?' E ellas, viendo la claridat de la su cara, espantadas dixieron: '¡*Sancto* de Dios, ave piadat de nós por *que* podamos creer en aquel dios *que* tú predicas!'

12. E oyéndolo el rey, fízolas adozir ante sý e díxoles: '¡Ya vos engañadas sodes oy! Yo vos juro por los mis dioses *que* sy non sacrificades *que* morredes mala muerte.' Respondieron ellas: 'Sy quisieres *que* sacrifiquemos, manda alynpiar las plaças e a todos alinpiar e entrar en el tenplo.' E fecho esto, ellas entrando en el tenplo desciñieron las sus cintas e poniéronlas a los cuellos de los dioses, e traxiéronlos a tierra e quebrantáronlos e feziéronlos polvo. E dixieron a los *que* ý estavan: 'Llamat a los físicos *que* sanen los vuestros dioses.'

13. Estonce, por mandado del rey, colgaron a Aqu*i*lyna e ligáronle una grand piedra a los pies, e así la desconjuntaron todos los mienbros. E moriendo asý, esta virgen fuése para Dios. Su hermana Nicea salió ende syn ligión ninguna. Por luego fue descabeçada.

14. E después desto, enpresentaron a *Christó*val al rey, e mandól açotar con piértigas de fierro, e poner en su cabeça yelmo de fierro caliente. [fol. 128^{vc}] E después desto, fizo fazer un escaño de fierro e

mandó atar en él a *Christó*val, e mandól encender echando en él pez, mas luego q*ue*bró el escaño de fierro bie*n* asý como de madero flaco, e salió ende *Christó*val syn ningu*n*a ligión. Desende mandól ligar a una viga, e q*ue*l asaetasen los cavalle*r*os. Enpe*r*o todas q*ua*ntas saetas le tirava*n*, todas se colgava*n* en el ayre, e ningu*n*a de las no*n* le enpescía. E pensando el rey q*ue* era todo asaetado e profaçando dél, a desora vino una saeta del ayre e q*ue*bró al rey el ojo, e luego fue ciego. E díxol *Christó*val: 'Cras he yo de morir, mas tú, cruel e malo, farás lodo de la mi sangre e untarás con ello el tu ojo, e luego serás sano.'

15. Estonce mandól el rey degollar, e fecha su oración, degollárō*n*le. E el rey tomó un poco de la su sangre, e púsolo sobre su ojo en el nonbre de Dios e de Sant *Christó*val. Luego fue sano. Estonce el rey atovo e mandó q*ue* sy algu*n*o blassfemase de Jhesu *Christo* e de *Christó*val, q*ue* luego moriese por ello.

Critical Apparatus

6] bue*n*: ƀ bue*n* *EK.*
10] por ende q*ua*ndo : q*ua*ndo por ende q*ua*ndo *EK.*
27] camial : camial [??] *EK.*
29] yrado : yra | yrado *EK.*
36] tanto : tato *EK.*
45] muchas : muchas muchas *EK.*
48] sé lo : sel *EK.*
66] e aviendo : e a | e aviendo *EK.*
80] de aq*ue*lla : de aq*ue*lla de aq*ue*lla *EK.*
81] demie*n*tra : demie*n*stra demie*n*tra *EK.*
85] martiriava*n* : martiritava*n* *EK.*
96] sy yo : syo yo *EK.*
102] e : e e *EK.*
107] dioses : dios *EK.*
108] dioses : dios *EK.*
111] dioses: dios *EK.*
120] abraçándol : e abraçándol *EK*
125] dioses : dios *EK.*
129] dioses : dios *EK.*
131] dioses : dios *EK.*
132] estonce : etstonce *EK.*
141] desende : desende desende *EK.*
148] estonce : etstonce *EK.*
151] estonce : etstonce *EK.*

Critical edition

Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, MS 8, fols. 52^{vd}-55^{rb} (*M*)

Variants from Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, MS 419, fols. 90^{vc} - 93ra (*F*)

Storia de Sant *Christó*val, mártir

1. Sa*n*t *Christó*val era de t*ie*rra de Canaá*n*, e era de aq*ue*llas gentes q*ue* come*n* los om*n*es. E era muy grra*n*de de cue*r*po e avía la cara muy espa*n*table, e avía en lue*n*go doze cobdos. E estando co*n* el rey de Ca|*naán*, [fol. 53ra] vínole a coraçón q*ue* buscase el mayor p*r*íncipe q*ue* en el mu*n*do fuese, e q*ue* fuese morar co*n* él. E por ende vínose p*a*ra un grra*n*d rey de q*ue* oyera grra*n*d fama q*ue* en el mu*n*do no*n* avía ta*n* grra*n* p*r*íncipe. E q*ua*ndo lo vio el p*r*íncipe, rescibiólo muy de grrado, e fízol fincar en su co*r*te.

2. E una vegada un juglar ca*n*tava un ca*n*tar ante el rey en q*ue* no*n*brava al diablo muchas vezes. E el rey, porq*ue* era *dristi*ano, luego se sa*n*tiguava, e veyéndolo *Christó*val, maravillóse mucho por q*ué* fazía esto el rey, e no*n* sabía q*ué* q*ue*ría dezir esta señal, por q*ué* fazía la señal de la cruz co*n* la mano a*n*te la faz q*ua*ndo se santiguava. E p*r*eguntando al rey desto, e no*n* ge lo q*ue*riendo dezir, díxol *Christó*val: 'Señor, sy no*n* me lo dizes, no*n* fincaré yo más contigo.' E p*e*ro el rey como a fue*r*ça díxogelo cómo era el diablo mala cosa, e por esto dixo: 'A la ora q*ue* oý nonbrar el diablo, fago esta señal, temie*n*do q*ue* me no*n* faga mal.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Sy tú as miedo del diablo, pues él es mayor e más poderoso q*ue* tú mayorme*n*te, pues q*ue* ta*n*to lo temes. E pues q*ue* así es, yo p*e*rdí mi espe*r*ança cuydándome q*ue* avía fallado el mayor e más poderoso señor del mu*n*do. E por ende despídome de ti agora, ca q*ui*ero yr buscar al diablo e tomarlo he por señor, e fazerme he su vasallo pues q*ue* tanto puede.'

3. E en esto p*a*rtióse del rey e yva buscar al diablo. E yendo él por un gra*n*d de|sie*r*to [fol. 53^{rb}] vio una gra*n*d conpaña de cavalle*r*os, de los q*ua*les vino uno a él muy cruel e muy espa*n*table. E dema*n*dól dó yva. E respondiól *Christó*val: 'Vó a buscar al diablo, q*ue* sea mi señor.' E dixo aq*ue*l cavalle*r*o: 'Yo só aq*uél* q*ue* tú dema*n*das.' E gozándose *Christó*val, fízol omenaje p*a*ra syenpre jamás, e tomól por su señor.

4. E a cabo de tie*r*po, acaesció q*ue* yendo amos a dos en uno,

fallaron una *cruz* que estava derecha en una carrera. E quando la vio el diablo, espantóse mucho e por ende fuyó, e dexando la carrera e ovo adozir a *Christó*val su vasallo por un desierto muy malo e por logar muy áspero. E veyendo esto *Christó*val, maravillóse por ende e preguntó al diablo que por qué ovo tan grrand miedo que así dexó la carrera llana, e errado andudo tanto e por tan áspera carrera. E él non ge lo queriendo mostrar, díxol *Christó*val: 'Tú as permisión conmigo de mostrarme todo lo que tú sabes. E si esto non me dixeres, luego me parto de ti.' E por ende el diablo como afuerça díxogelo en esta guisa: 'Un omne ovo que dixeron *Christo*, e fue puesto en una *cruz* tal como aquélla que viste estar en el camino, e murió en ella. E agora allá dó es, es nuestro enemigo, e quando veo aquella señal, he muy grrand miedo e espantado fuyo.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Pues ese *Christo* es mayor e más poderoso que tú, pues que tú tanto temes la señal de la su *cruz*, e por ende seméjame que en vano trabajo yo fasta agora, que non fallé aún el mayor príncipe del mundo. E pues que así es con grracia, ca me quiero partir de ti e buscar a Jhesu *Christo*.'

5. E de allí adelant andudo muy grrand tiempo buscando quién le mostrase a Jhesu *Christo*. E en cabo vino a un ermitaño que predicava mucho todo el [fol. 53^{vc}] fecho de Jhesu *Christo*, e *Christó*val demandól por él, e aquél mostról muy bien la fe. E díxole el hermitaño: 'Este rey que tú demandas e que dizes que le deseas servir, éste es el servicio que él quiere de ti: que te convemá ayunar muy a menudo.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'E en otra cosa sý lo podré yo servir, ca esto nunca lo podría yo fazer.' E díxole otra vegada el hermitaño: 'Pues conviénete que fagas muchas oraciones.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Aún non sé qué es eso, nin tal servicio como éste non lo podría fazer.' E díxol el hermitaño: 'Porque tú eres muy grrande, ¿sabes tal río en que han peligro muchos que pasan por él e mueren ý?' E díxole *Christó*val: 'Séle.' E díxole el hermitaño: 'Pues porque eres muy grrande e bien rezio de fuerça, si sovieses cerca de aquel río e pasases a todos quantos quisyesen, esto plazería mucho aquel rey Jhesu *Christo*, a que tú deseas servir. E sy lo bien syrvieres, creo que allí te aparescrá.' E díxol *Christó*val: 'Este servicio puedo yo muy bien fazer.' E prometól que sirrva muy bien en esto.

6. E después desto, fuése a aquel río e fizo ý una casa para en que morase, e trayendo una grrand vara por blago en su mano en que se sofría por el agua, e pasava a todos quantos por ý querién pasar, los unos en sus ombros, e los otros en su cintura. E pasando así muchos

días, una vez folgando en su casiella, oyó una voz de un niño quel llamava. E dizié: '*Christó*val, ¡sal fuera e pásame allá!' E *Christó*val sallió e fue allá, mas non falló ý a ninguno. E él tornándose a su casilla, oyó otra vegada esa misma voz. E él sallió fuera apriesa, mas non falló a ninguno. E desý llamó la tercera vegada, e él sallió otrosý, e falló un niño cerca de la ribera, e rogóle muy afincadamente a *Christó*val que lo pasase. E *Christó*val, [fol. 53^{vd}] tomando el niño en sus ombros e el blago en su mano, entró en el río para pasar allende. E ahevo el agua del río que crecía poco a poco, e el niño pesava asý como plomo muy pesado. E quanto más yva adelante, más crecía el agua, e el niño sienpre pesava más, en manera que *Christó*val viose en grrand peligro e en muy grrand angustia, en manera que avía miedo de perescer, mas escapando malabés, e pasando el río, puso el niño en la ribera.

7. E díxol: 'Niño, posísteme en grrand peligro. E tanto pesas que sy toviesse todo el mundo sobre mí, non podría sentir mayor carrga.' E díxole el niño: '*Christó*val, non te maravilles, ca non tan solamente toviste todo el mundo sobre ti, mas a aquél que crió todo el mundo; a aquél troxiste tú sobre tus onbros, ca yo só Jhesu *Christo*, el tu rey a quien tú syrves en este fecho. E por tal que prueves que digo verdat, quando passes allende, fincarás el tu blago acerca de la tu casiella en tierra, e verás mañana en él flores e frruto.' E esto dicho, desaparesció el niño. E viniendo *Christó*val, e fincando su blago en tierra, levantóse de mañana e fallóle en manera de palma, con fojas e dátiles.

8. E después desto vino a la cibdat que dizién Samón, de tierra de Licia, e non entendiendo la lengua de aquella gente, rogó a Dios quel diese el entendimiento de aquella gente e de su lenguage. E demientre que él estava rogando esto a Dios, los juezes cuydando que era loco, dexáronlo. E *Christó*val después que ovo de Jhesu *Christo* lo que le demandó, cubriendo su cara, vino al lugar del lid e confortava los *christi*anos en Jhesu *Christo* que allí martiriavan. E estonce un joez firiól en la cara. E díxol *Christó*val: 'Sy non porque só *christi*ano, vengaría yo este tuerto que me feziste.' E fincó su vara en tierra [fol. 54ra] e rogó a Dios que la fiziese florescer por que convertiese el pueblo. E la vara por mandado de Dios cargóse de flores. E mano a mano que esto fue fecho, creyeron en Jhesu *Christo* ocho mill omnes.

8a. E quando vio esto el que lo firiera, tiróse atrás muy denudado e espantado, e fuélo dezir al rey: 'Señor, es venido aquí un varón que quando vio pregonar lo que tú mandaste, que todos adorasen

los ýdolos, vino a los del pueblo con un vulto muy espantable e muy grrand de cuerpo, que non ha omne del mundo que pueda dezir la su semejança, nin catar a la su visión, e que temo que por aventura el dios de los *christi*anos oyrá sus oraciones, e que lo á enviado en ayuda dellos, ca él *christi*ano es.'

8b. E dixo Dapño el emperador: 'Tú semeja que demonio as. Dímelo bien así como lo viste e non mientas.' 'Lo que yo vi dezírtelo quiero, señor. La cabeça dél es muy espantable, e la faz asý fecha como de can. Los cabellos de la cabeça muy esparzidos e asý como color de oro. Los sus ojos son así como la estrella de la mañana. Los sus dientes semejan como de puerco montés. La su voz e la su palabra non ha ombre que la pueda dezir. E es tan atrevido que fabló palabras muy torpes contra ti e contra nuestros dioses. E yo, quando tales cosas le oý dezir de ti, dile una sorrostrada. E dixo él a mí que sy non fuese *christi*ano e porque el su señor Jhesu *Christo* que dize que les mandó sofrir, que me matara e aun que mataría a ti, señor. E por ende, yo dígolo a ti, rey, que pongas ý recabdo.'

8c. E dixo Dapño: '¿E este omne qué cosa es que tales palabras dize?' E dixo Nafe, aquel mensagero: 'Señor, aún más espantable es e más fuertes cosas dize de lo que te yo di|go.'

9. [fol. 54^{rb}] Estonce el rey envió doztentos cavalleros que ge lo aduxesen, e falláronlo orando e non le osaron dezir nada, e tornáronse para el rey e dixiéronle cómo le fallaran. E el rey envió otra vegada altantos cavalleros, e éstos echáronse con él en oración. E levantándose *Christó*val, díxoles: '¿*Qué* demandades?' E veyendo ellos la su faz, dixéronle: 'El rey nos envió, que te presiésemos e que te levásemos a él.' E díxoles *Christó*val: 'Sy yo quisyere, nin ligado nin suelto non me levaredes allá, nin podredes.' E dixeron ellos: 'Dirémosnos al rey que te non fallamos.' E díxoles él: 'Non asý, mas yo yré convusco.'

10. E convertiólos a la fe, e fizo que le ligasen las manos a çaga, e que lo levasen preso ante el rey. E veyéndolo el rey, espantóse dél e cayó luego de su sylla. E desende, alçándolo sus cavalleros, preguntól por su nombre e de quál tierra era. E él respondiól: 'Ante que me bautizasen, dixiéronme Réprobo, e agora dízenme *Christó*val.' E díxol el rey: 'Tomeste nombre de loco de *Christo* el crucificado que non aprovechó a sý, nin podrá aprovechar a ti. E agora di, cananeo encantador, ¿por qué tú non sacrificas a los dioses?' E díxol *Christó*val: 'E a ti con derecho te llaman Daguno, ca tú eres muerte del mundo, e

compañero del diablo, e non veyes que los tus dioses los omnes los fizieron con sus manos.' E díxole el rey: 'Tú fuste criado entre las bestias, e por ende non puedes fablar synon cosas de bestias e lo que los omnes non saben. Empero, sy agora quisieres sacrificar a los dioses, rescibrás de mí grrandes honrras. E sy non, tú serás atormentado en muchas maneras.' E non queriendo sacrificar, mandól meter en la cárcel, e fizo degollar a aquellos cavalleros por el nonbre de Jhesu *Christo* a los [fol. 54^{vc}] que enviara él a prender a *Christó*val.

11. E fizo encerrar en la cárcel dos niñas muy fermosas, e a la una dizién Nicea, e a la otra Aquilina, e prometiéndoles muchas cosas syl pudiesen adozir a que peccase con ellas. E entendiólo *Christó*val, e echóse luego en oración, mas las niñas, faziéndole fuerça, feriéndol de las palmas e abraçándol, e levantóse él. E díxoles: 'Fijas, ¿qué demandades, o por qué entrastes acá?' E ellas, veyendo la claridat que salié de la su cara, espantadas dixeron: '¡*Sancto* de Dios, ávenos merced por que podamos creer en aquel dios que tú predicas!'

12. E esto oyéndolo el rey, fízolas adozir ante sý e díxoles: '¡E vos ya sodes engañadas! Yo juro por los dioses que sy non sacrificades los ýdolos que morredes luego mala muerte.' E respondieron ellas: 'Rey, sy quieres que sacrifiquemos, manda alinpiar las plazas e todos ayuntar en el tenplo.' E fecho esto, e entrando ellas en el templo, descinieron sus cintas e atándolas en los cuellos de los ýdolos e tirrándolos a tierra, quebrantáronlos e desmenuzáronlos todos. E dixeron a todos los que ý estavan: 'Yd e llamad a los físicos que sanen a los vuestros dioses.'

13. E estonce por mandado del rey colgaron a Aquilina e ligáronle una grrand piedra a los pies, e así desconjuntaron todos sus mienbros. E muriendo asý esta virgen, e yéndose para Dios, e a su hermana Nicea echáronla en el fuego, mas por grracia de Dios sallió dende sin ligión ninguna, e luego la descabeçaron.

14. E después desto aprestaron a *Christó*val delante el rey, e mandól el rey açotar con piértegas de fierro, e mandó poner en su cabe|ça [fol. 54^{vd}] un yelmo de fierro caliente. E después, fízol fazer un escaño de fierro e ligar a *Christó*val en él, e mandól encender, e echando en él pez, mas luego quebró el escaño así como sy fuese madero flaco, e *Christó*val salió dende syn lisión. E después mandól ligar a una viga, e quel asaetasen los ballesteros, mas todas las saetas estavan colgadas en el ayre e ninguno non podía fincar saeta en él. E

asmando el rey *que* era todo asaetado ya e porfazando dél, a desora vino un*a* saeta del ayre e tornándose, firióle al rey en el ojo, e mano a mano fue luego ciego. E díxol *Christó*val: 'Cras he de morir, mas tú, cruel e malo, estonce faz lodo de la mi sangre e unta con ello ese tu ojo, e luego querrá Dios *que* sanes por *que* cognoscas tu maldat *que* fazes e te arrepientas.'

15. E otro día el rey mandól degollar, e él començó a rogar a Dios, e fecha la oración, degollárongle. E el rey, tomando un poco de la su sangre e poniéndola sobre su ojo, dixo: 'En el nombre de Jhesu *Christo*, aquel Dios *que* predicava *Christó*val.' E fue luego sano. E estonce el rey creyó e mandó *que* sy alguno blasfemase nin dixese mal de Jhesu *Christo* o de Sant *Christó*val, *que* luego le matasen.

Appendix (*M* only)

16. Et accepta sentencia quam ipse rex dedit contra beatum *Christo*forum, exeunt de palacio, et beatus *Christo*forus cepit persallere ita dicens: 'Salvasti enim nos de afligentibus nos, et eos qui nos hoderunt confundisti.' Et conversus ad milites dixit: 'Sustinete me modicum ut orem.' Et ait: 'Domine Deus meus, Tu retribue regi huic secundum quod gessit in me.' Et hec dicens, abiit ad locum preparatum. Et iterum dixit militibus: 'Sustinete me modicum ut iterum orem.' [fol. 55ra] *Qui* dixerunt: 'Habes spacium si vis orare.'

17. Expansis autem manibus suis ad celum, dixit: 'Deus, memor esto humilitatis mee, et dignare mihi cursum ostendore, ut exultet in gloria tua, Domine.' Et ecce terre motus factus est magmus, ita ut multitudo que aderat caderet. Et ecce aperti sancti celi, et vidit sanctus *Christo*forus Dominum ad se venientem, et chorum magnum iustorum, et quatuor angelos in aere quorum similitudo splendoris sicut firmamentum celi setempliciter splendentis. Et positum est tronum, et sedit Dominus, ita ut multi mirarentur videre gloriam quam apparuerat. Beatus igitur *Christo*forus, cum vidiset hanc gloriam, ad vestigia Domini provolutus, dixit: 'Quo ore vel quo corde clarificabo te, Domine, quia dignus es mihi humili servo tuo tuam gloriam magnifestare?'

18. Dixit autem ei Dominus: 'Viriliter age et confortare. Beacior enim es pre multis, et dilectissimus servus vocaberis. Et beate anime erunt que meruerunt de reliquis ossuum tuorum habere. Et quicumque per te acceserunt ad me, non memorabor peccata eorum amplius; per

gloriam meam iuro tibi quia in Paradiso erunt.'

19. Christoforus dixit: 'Si inveni gratiam in conspectu tuo, Domine Deus meus, da mihi fiduciam loqui ad te.'

20. Et dixit Dominus: 'Loquere quod volueris.'

21. Et sanctus dicens: 'Domine, da ita gratiam corpori meo, ut omnes qui habuerunt parum reliquiarum mearum tantam gratiam mereantur, ut spiritus malignus non eos teneat neque passio infirmitatis turbet, et omne concupiscenciam malam repelle ab eis. Domine Deus, sive civitas seu religio, ubi fuerit de reliquis meis, non superveniat ibi indignacio grandinis, neque lesio frugum, aut sterelitas vinearum; sed si aliquando lese fuerint, sicut mei presencia ubicumque devenerint reliquie mee, dona gratiam, Domine Deus, ut omnes habitantes in regionibus illis culture sue affluenter excipientes re|pleti [fol. 55^{rb}] tua gratia glorificent nomen tuum ex toto corde. Ita fac Domine Deus meus.'

22. Et dixit Dominus: 'Secundum quod postulasti ita erit, et non contristabor te. Tu itaque veni, ascende ad fratres tuos; omnes enim mirantur in te, et milicia angelorum cupit te videre.'

23. Et hec cum audisset discessit, et venit ad locum preparatum et dixit ad spiculatorem: 'Veni, filii, fac quod iussum est, set adiurote per Deum, qui intendit super omne orbem terre, no me iudices.' Et hec dicens consignavit se, et fixis genibus extendit cervicem; sic amputatum est capud eius, consumavit martirium suum in pace.

24. Audivit autem episcopus civitatis Atanasius Italie que iuncta est terminis Persidis, hoc venit in Anthiochio et dedit trezentos aureos ministris regis, et tulit corpus sancti martiris et protulit in suam civitatem.

Critical Apparatus

Incipit] Storia de *M* : *om. F.* // mártir *F* : *om. M.*
3] avía *M* : avién *F.*
5] fuese *M* : oviesse *F.* // fuese *M* : se fuesse a *F.* // para *M* : a *F.*
7] príncipe *M* : rey *F.*
9] un cantar ante el rey *M* : ante el rey un cantar *F.*
10] el rey *M* : él *F.*
12] la *F* : *om. M.*
13] la *F* : *om. M.* // quando se santiguava *F* : *om. M.*
15] yo *F* : *om. M.* // pero *M* : por esto *F.*
16] dixo *M* : *om. F.* // oý *M* : lo oyo *F.*
17] nonbrar *F* : nobrar *M.* // el diablo *M* : *om. F.* // temiendo que me non *M* : por que me non enpesca nin me *F.*
18] tú *F* : *om. M.* // del *M* : al *F.*
18-19] pues él es mayor e más poderoso *M* : segund esto mayor e más poderoso es *F.*
19] mayormente *M* : *om. F.*
20] cuydándome *M* : cuydando *F.*
22] he *F* : *om. M.* // he *F* : *om. M.*
23] pues *F* : ~~puede~~ pues *M.*
24] del rey *M* : dél *F*
25] grand desierto *M* : yermo *F.* // una *F* : *om. M.*
27] Christóval *F* : *om. M.*
31] en uno *M* : *om. F.*
32] una carrera *M* : la carrera *F.*
33] por ende *F* : *om. M.* // e *M* : *om. F.* // e *F* : *om. M.*
34] adozir *M* : a levar *F.* // por logar *F* : *om. M.*
35] por ende *F* : *om. M.*
36] que *F* : *om. M.* // ovo *M* : avía avido *F.* // dexó *M* : avía dexado *F.*
37] errado andudo tanto *M* : avía andado tanto errado *F.*
38] permisión *M* : comparación *F.*
39] mostrarme *M* : me mostrar *F.* // dixeres *M* : dizes *F.*
40] esta *F* : esta esta *M.*
41] ovo que dixeron Christo, e fue puesto *M* : que dixieron Christo fue puesto *F.*
42] aquélla *F* : ~~esta~~ aquélla *M.* // el *M* : aquel *F.*
43] veo aquella señal *M* : aquella señal veo *F.*
45] señal de la su *M* : *om. F.*
46] yo *M* : *om. F.* // aún *F* : *om. M.*
47] e *F* : *om. M.* // que *F* : *om. M.*
49] muy grrand tiempo buscando *M* : buscando muy grrand tiempo *F.*
51] todo *F* : *om. M.* // Christóval *F* : *om. M.*
52] por él *F* : *om. M.* // aquél *M* : aquel hermitaño *F.* // díxole *F* : dixo *M.*
53] le *F* : *om. M.*
54] de ti *F* : *om. M.* // te converná ayunar muy *M* : ayunes *F.*
55] e *M* : *om. F.* // podré *M* : podría *F.* // nunca *M* : non *F.*
56] yo *M* : *om. F.* // díxole *F* : *om. M.* // conviénete *M* : convenirte ha *F.*
57] eso *M* : esto *F.* // nin *F* : nin *M.*
58] lo *F* : *om. M.*
60] díxole *F* : dixo *M.* // séle *M* : bien lo sé *F.* // díxole *F* : dixo *M.*
61] muy *F* : *om. M.* // sovieses *M* : estovieres *F.*
62] de *F* : *om. M.*
62-63] quantos quisyesen, esto plazería [...] tú deseas servir *M* : por amor de aquel rey que tú desseas servir, en esto le farías mucho plazer *F.*
64] puedo *F* : pudo *M.*
65] bien *M* : *om. F.* // prometól *M* : prometía *F.* // sirva *M* : le serviría *F.*
66] a *F* : *om. M.* // para *F* : *om. M.*
67] trayendo *M* : traýa *F*
68] e *F* : *om. M.* // querién pasar *M* : venían *F.*
69] e *M* : *om. F.* // cintura *M* : cinta *F.*
70] oyó *F* : oy *M.*
71] dizié *M* : dizía *F.*
72] ý a *M* : *om F*
73] a *M* : ý *F*
74] desý *M* : *om. F.*
75] de *M* : *om. F.* // rogóle *F* : rogó *M.* // a Christóval *M* : *om. F.* // lo *M* : le *F.*
76] e el *M* : con su *F.*
77] su *M* : la *F.*
78] del río *M* : *om. F.* // asý *M* : *om. F.*
78-79] muy pesado *F* : *om. M.*

80] sienpre *F* : syepre *M*. // viose *M* : se vio *F*.
81] angustia *M* : angostura *F*. // en manera *M* : *om. F*. // avía *M* : ovo *F*. // mas *M* : e *F*.
82] e *M* : *om. F*. // en la ribera *F* : *om. M*.
84] toviesse *F* : tovieses *M*.
85] díxole *F* : dixo *M*.
86] a *F* : *om. M*. // a *F* : *om. M*.
87] tú *F* : *om. M*.
88] syrves *M* : serviste *F*.
89] quando passes allende *F* : *om. M*. // acerca *M* : cerca *F*.
91] viniendo *F* : *om. M*. // e *F* : *om. M*.
92] fallóle *M* : fallólo *F*. // con *M* : que fiziera *F*.
93] dizién *M* : dizían *F*.
94] de *F* : *om. M*. // Licia *M* : Lucia *F*. // entendiendo *M* : entendía *F*. // gente *M* : tierra e *F*.
96] cuydando *F* : cuyedando *M*. // que *F* : *om. M*.
97] ovo *M* : ganó *F*. // le *M* : *om. F*.
98] demandó *M* : demandava *F*. // del *M* : de la *F*. // confortava *M* : esforçava *F*.
99] en Jhesu *Christo* que allí martiriavan *M* : que allí martirizavan [??] por amor de Jhesu *Christo F*. // e *M* : *om. F*.
101] en tierra *M* [in a note to the binder at the bottom of the page] : en tierra *F*.
102] la *M* : le *F*.
103] mano a mano *M* : luego *F*.
104] mill *M* : ll [??] *F*.
105] tiróse *M* : quitósse [??] *F*.
106] denudado *M* : denandado [??] *F*. // fuélo *F* : fue *M*. // es venido aquí *M* : aquí es venido *F*.
108] del pueblo *M* : *christi*anos *F*. // un *F* : *om. M*.
109] del *M* : en el *F*. // la *F* : *om. M*.
110] a *M* : *om. F*. // que *M* : *om. F*. // que por aventura *M* : por aventura que *F*.
113] Dapño *M* : Decio *F*.
114] bien *F* : *om. M*.
115] quiero *M* : he *F*. // dél *M* : *om. F*. // espantable *F* : espantantable *M*. // fecha *M* : *om. F*.
116] de can *M* : can *F*. // e *M* : *om. F*.
117] así *F* : *om. M*.
118] como *M* : *om. F*. // e *M* : nin *F*.
119] la *M* : lo *F*.
120] nuestros *M* : tus *F*.
121] sorrostrada *M* : rostrada *F*.
122] *christi*ano e *F* : *om. M*. // porque *M* : por *F*. // dize que *F* : *om. M*. // les *M* : los *F*
123] matara *M* : mataría *F*
124] dígolo *M* : dilo *F*
125] e *F* : *om. M*. // Dapño *M* : Decio *F*. // e *F* : *om. M*.
130] dixiéronle *F* : dixeron *M*.
131] altantos *M* : tantos *F*. // con él en oración *M* : en oración con él *F*. // levantándose *F* : levantóse *M*.
132] veyendo *F* : veyedo *M*.
133] envió *M* : enbía *F*. // presiésemos *M* : prendiéssemos *F*. // que *M* : *om. F*.
134] *Christó*val *M* : *om. F*. // quisyere *M* : quisiesse *F*.
135] levaredes *M* : levaríades *F*. // podredes *M* : podríades *F*. // dirémosnos *M* : diremos *F*.
136] asý *M* : *om. F*.
137] le *F* : *om. M*.
139] e *F* : *om. M*. // alçándolo *F* : asçandolo *M*. // cavalleros *M* : vassallos *F*.
140] quál *M* : qué *F*. // tierra *F* : tiera *M*.
141] dixiéronme *F* : dixeron *M*. // Réprobo [??] *M* : Rébrepo *F*. // dízenme *M* : me dizen *F*.
142] de *F* : *om. M*. // el *M* : *om. F*.
144] encantador *F* : encantadador *M*. // tú *M* : *om. F*. // dioses *F* : dios *M*.
145] llaman Daguno *M* : dizen Daciano *F*.
147] díxole *F* : dixo *M*.
149] empero *M* : e *F*. // quisieres *M* : ~~non~~ quisieres *F*.
150] tú *M* : *om. F*.
152] a *F* : *om. M*.
152-53] por el nombre de [...] prender a *Christó*val *M* : que enbiara a *Christó*val por el nonbre de Jhesu *Christo F*.
155] dizién *M* : dizían *F*. // e prometiéndoles *F* : prometiéndole *M*.
155-56] muchas cosas [...] que peccase con ellas *M* : que si le fiziessen pecar con ellas que les daría muchas cosas *F*.

156] ente*n*diólo *F* : entié*n*dolo *M*. // e *F* : *om. M*.
157] luego *M* : *om. F*. // fazié*n*dole *M* : fiziéronle *F*.
158] las *M* : *om. F*. // e *F* : *om. M*.
159-60] q*ue* salié *M* : *om. F*.
163] engañadas *F* : engadas *M*.
164] morredes *F* : moredes *M*.
165] Rey *M* : *om. F*. // alinpiar *M* : ayuntar *F*.
166] ayu*n*tar en el tenplo *M* : ayu*n*tados en el tenplo sac*r*ificaremos *F*. // e entrando *F* : entrando *M*.
167] en *M* : a *F*. // ýdolos *M* : dioses *F*.
168] e desmenuzáro*n*los *F* : *om. M*.
169] todos *F* : *om. M*. // yd e llamad *F* : yt llamar *M*. // a *F* : *om. M*.
170] v*ue*stros *F* : *om. M*.
171] e *M* : *om. F*. // Aquilina *F* : Aq*u*linia *M*.
173] muri*e*ndo *M* : murió *F*. // yéndose *M* : fuése *F*. // Dios *M* : paráyso *F*. // e *F* : *om. M*.
175] dende *F* : ende *M*. // ni*n*guna *M* : *om. F*.
176] desto aprestaro*n M* : presentaron *F*. // delante el rey *F* : *om. M*.
177] ma*n*dól el rey *M* : ma*n*dó *F*. // açotar *M* : q*ue* lo açotassen *F*. // ma*n*dó *F* : madó *M*.
178] calie*n*te *M* : ardiente *F*. // e *F* : *om. M*. // fízol *M* : fizo *F*.
179] ligar *M* : ligó *F*. // ma*n*dól *M* : ma*n*dó *F*.
179-80] ence*n*der e echa*n*do *M* : echar e esconder *F*. // así como sy fuese *M* : en mane*r*a de *F*.
181] dende *F* : ende *M*.
183] colgadas *F* : golgadas *M*. // fincar saeta en *M* : lançar saeta a *F*.
184] asma*n*do *M* : pensando *F*. // todo asaetado ya *M* : ya *todo* [??] asaeteado *F*.
185] torná*n*dose *F* : *om. M*. // firióle *F* : firió *M*.
185-86] ma*n*o a mano fue luego : ma*n*o a mano fuego *M* ; luego fue *F*.
187] de *M* : con *F*.
188] cognoscas *F* : conscas *M*.
188-89] q*ue* fazes *M* : *om. F*.
190] el rey ma*n*dól *M* : ma*n*dólo el rey *F*. // come*n*çó *F* : começó *M*. // a *M* : de *F*.
190-91] a Dios *M* : *om. F*.
191] degollá*r*onle *M* : degolláronlo *F*. // toma*n*do *M* : tomó *F*.
192-93] Jhesu *Christo F* : *om. M*.
193] luego sano *M* : sano luego *F*. // e *M* : *om. F*.
194] ni*n M* : o *F*.
195] o de Sa*n*t *Christó*val *M* : *om. F*. // le *M* : lo *F*.
199] co*n*fundisti : co*n*fudisti *M*.
200] secundu*m* : secudu*m M*.
230] regionib*us* : regioniob*us M*.

Conclusion: The Problem of Hagiography

As I showed in the introduction to this project, hagiography is a genre that has been sadly and ill-advisedly ignored. As well as offering my own readings of the issues raised in these texts, I hope to have presented the reader with an overview of the problems that affect the student of saints' lives, as every chapter has displayed the shortcomings of contemporary investigation.

In the first chapter I drew tentative conclusions about the historical Christopher, offering theories about how his legend evolved over centuries. Chapter Two permitted a study of the texts in relation to their Latin sources. In Chapters Three and Four I considered some of the more interesting thematic points about Christopher's legend. In the appendix I edited three previously unseen texts (*EH*, *EK*, and *F*), and a new version of the fourth (*M*), which I hope will stimulate discourse.

However, there remains much still to do. It is impossible to situate Christopher within or outside the limits of male sanctity in Spanish medieval literature because very few studies have been done with which to compare my findings. Over the course of the next few years, I intend to edit and comment on other male saints' lives. There are 182 chapters in Jacobus de Voragine's original *Legenda aurea*, 97 of which dedicate them to individual male saints (with a further 22 dedicated to pairs or groups of them, and only 27 devoted to female saints). Despite – perhaps especially because of – the intimidating size of this corpus, the lack of intellectual attention is not justified. A clearer picture of male sanctity would enrich any study of medieval Spanish literature. If, as a result of this project, I am able to establish an academic discourse about these texts, the year I have spent analysing Christopher's narrative will have been fruitful, producing literary dates and leaves from texts that are currently treated as dead and barren, or ignored completely.

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